DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 358 714 FL 021 257

TITLE	Communication Skills in Development: The Role of ELT. Dunford House Seminar Report (England, United Kingdom, July 26-August 1, 1992).
INSTITUTION	British Council, London (England).
PUB DATE	92
NOTE	90p.; For other Dunford House Seminar proceedings, see FL 021 247-256.
AVAILABLE FROM	English Language Division, The British Council, Medlock Street, Manchester M15 4AA, England, United Kingdom.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Case Studies; *Communication Skills; Developing Nations; *Economic Development; *English (Second Language); Foreign Countries; International Cooperation; *Language Role; Second Language Instruction; *Second Language Programs; Skill Development; *Technical Assistance
IDENTIFIERS	China; Hungary; India; Kenya; Namibia; Poland; *United Kingdom; Zimbabwe

ABSTRACT

Proceedings of a seminar on the role of communication skills instruction as part of English language training (ELT) offered through British technical assistance and economic development programs are presented. They take the form of speeches, case study summaries, and reports of group discussions about each case study. Speeches include: "Aspects of Accountability"; "The Value of English in Development"; "Economics and ELT"; and "Investing in Education." Case studies and related discussions are for Namibia, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Hungary, Poland, China, and India. A summary list of key issues emerging from the seminar, a summary of seminar outcomes, a seminar evaluation questionnaire, and a list of participants are also included. (MSE)

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Dunford Seminar Report 1992

Communication skills in development: the role of ELT.

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Dunford Seminar Report 1992

Communication skills in development: the role of ELT

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All enquiries to:

Projects Advisory Unit
English Language Division
The British Council
Medlock Street
Manchester M15 4AA

Published by The British Council
© The British Council 1992

Designed by The British Council

Printed in Britain by Thornton and Pearson Ltd

Registered in England as a charity no. 209131

Acknowledgements

The English Language Division of The British Council would like to thank the staff of Alston Hall, notably the Principal and the Domestic Bursar, for their unstinting efforts to ensure the smooth running of the seminar and the comfort of the participants.

We are also grateful to the following publishers for their very generous contributions to the ELT book exhibition at the seminar:

BBC English
Cambridge University Press
Harper Collins
Heinemann ELT
Language Teaching Publications
MacMillan
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Penguin English
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The Dunford Seminar

This is an annual seminar run by the English Language Division of the British Council. It focuses on ODA-funded ELT projects and serves as a forum for the exchange of ideas and experience through the participation of ELT professionals involved in various areas of project delivery. These include British Council career officers, British Council contract English Language Teaching Officers (ELTOs) who are funded by the ODA, UK Higher Education ELT specialists and representatives from private sector institutions. The seminar functions as a think-tank on the design, implementation and evaluation of ELT projects. The report is distributed to a wide readership in the profession in the UK and throughout the developing world.

Previous seminar topics

1978	ESP course design
1979	ELT course design
1980	Communicative Methodology
1981	Design, evaluation and testing in English language projects
1982	Teacher training and the curriculum
1983	Design and implementation of teacher-training programmes
1984	Curriculum and syllabus design in ELT
1985	Communication skills training in bilateral aid
1986	Appropriate methodology
1987	ELT and development: the place of English language teaching in aid programmes
1988	ELT in development aid: defining aims and measuring results
1989	Managing ELT aid projects for sustainability
1990	Training for sustainability of ELT aid projects
1991	The social and economic impact of ELT in development

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Foreword

The 1992 Dunford Seminar, following the relocation of English Language Division to the new British Council headquarters in Manchester, was held in the north of England for the first time, at Alston Hall in Lancashire. In the view of the majority of participants, Alston Hall provided facilities which in no way fell short and in some senses exceeded those at Dunford House. I am very grateful to the Principal, Brian Leighton, and his staff for making us welcome and providing such an excellent venue for the seminar.

Feedback from participants at the 1991 seminar, under the title "The social and economic impact of ELT in development" indicated that while a start had been made in tackling this difficult yet vitally important topic, much remained to be done and so the 1992 seminar continued the theme. The situation in which those of us who are concerned with the role of language and communication skills in development find ourselves has not changed and indeed funding for the work we do has become increasingly hard to get. This is due not only to a general recession, but more importantly because there is increased competition for those funds from other fields of development aid. If the level of funding for aid in the field of language and communication skills is to be maintained or increased, there is an urgent need for the profession to collaborate to achieve two things.

Firstly, the need before the 1991 seminar, to identify ways of demonstrating the value of aid in these fields, in terms comprehensible to and acceptable to fundholders, remains. This means, crucially, identifying indicators of a socio-economic nature through which the benefits of investment in the field can be demonstrated. We, as a profession, cannot exempt ourselves from the need to apply cost/benefit analysis techniques to our own work, however unpalatable that may seem to many of us.

Secondly, and just as importantly, we have to take a broader view of what we do. We need to understand and make more explicit that the importance of language and communication skills issues lies not in their inherent value but in the essential contribution to success in a whole range of development issues. To do this we need on the one hand to accept that language aid projects may only be a part of a larger project - that the 'pure' ELT project may have had its day - and on the other hand to convince those responsible for funding aid of the general importance of language/communication skills issues as underpinning and facilitating elements of development assistance in general. To put it simply, we as a profession need to put language issues on the agenda of the funding agencies, so that, as a matter of course, all project proposals, in whatever field, are looked at to see if there are ways in which their success can be enhanced by inputs on the language front.

While it would be unrealistic to claim that the 1992 Dunford Seminar achieved a breakthrough in either of these two directions I think, nevertheless, that progress was made. There is now a fairly general acceptance that economic criteria will be used to judge the worth of investment in language projects and a willingness to set about the task of identifying appropriate indicators. To quote some of the seminar evaluation comments:

> "... a sharper focus on what it is I am doing, enthusiasm to find out more about the impact of our own project."

> " Keep a hard focus - we're not going to get away from the need - and build up a practical measurement bank and broad project taxonomy."

> " The need to focus on particular pieces of research to substantiate our case for saying that ELT is important for development."

" The knowledge and skills we require to make a contribution in the changing circumstances/to the changing requirements of development aid."

Where do we go from here? It is clear, and I believe that there is general agreement, that much more remains to be done in the ways indicated above to ensure the continued involvement of the ELT profession in development aid. The 1992 seminar, in so far as it was successful, was a process-oriented occasion and the need for a product remains. However, I believe that the task of developing that product of a range of appropriate indicators needs now to be carried out at the level of individual projects, either through small research projects or at the design stage, rather than through an event such as the Dunford Seminar. The ball has been set rolling and while it may be desirable to return to the theme in two or three years' time to bring developments back together, I think that little constructive would be gained from a third successive year of focus for the seminar on this topic. Dunford 1993 will therefore move on to new pastures and tackle a new topic of significance in the field of language, communication skills and development.

Finally, I would like to thank all those who gave so generously of their time, knowledge and experience to making the 1992 seminar a success. To the principal speakers, Professor John Turner, Professor Alasdair MacBean, Dr Roger Iredale and Dr Roger Bowers; to the case study presenters and resource people; to the staff of Alston Hall; and above all to everyone who attended and made the seminar what it has always been ".. a group pf people meeting in a special place and working towards a common goal in a harmonious yet challenging way."

John A Hilton
Assistant Director
English Language Division

Seminar Programme

Sunday 26 July
18.00 Arrivals and reception

Monday 27 July
09.00 Introduction and welcome - John Hilton, A/Director ELD, British Council
09.15 Keynote Speech "Aspects of Accountability" - Roger Bowers, Director ELD, British Council
10.00 Keynote Speech "The Value of English in Development" - John D Turner, Pro-Vice Chancellor, University of Manchester
11.15 Keynote Speech "Economics and ELT" - Alasdair Macbean, Emeritus Professor, Dept of Economics, University of Lancaster
12.00 Keynote Speech "Investing in Education" - Roger Iredale, Chief Education Adviser, ODA
12.45 Lunch
14.00 Namibia Case Study - Dick Chamberlain, Ministry of Education, Namibia
17.30 End

Tuesday 28 July
09.00 Kenya Case Study - Gill Westaway A/Director (English Language), British Council Kenya
Peter Bint ELTO, COMSKIP Project, Kenya
12.45 Lunch
14.00 Zimbabwe Case Study - Stuart Greenhalgh, ELTO, University of Zimbabwe Project
17.30 End

Wednesday 29 July
09.00 Introduction to Eastern European Case Studies - Mike Potter, A/Director ELD, British Council
09.30 Hungary Case Study - Joy Griffiths, Etövös Loránd University
12.45 Lunch
14.00 Poland Case Study - Eddie Richards, EMAS
17.30 End

Thursday 30 July
09.00 China Case Study - Gordon Slaven, Assistant ELO, British Council Beijing
12.45 Lunch
14.00 India Case Study - Neil Gilroy-Scott, ELO British Council New Delhi
17.30 End

Friday 31 July
09.00 Restatement of Focus of Seminar - Simon Ingram Hill, Adviser ELD, British Council
09.30 Reports of Case Study Group Discussions
11.15 "Pulling Together" (participant-led discussion) chaired by Andy Thomas, Head PAU, ELD, British Council
12.45 Lunch
14.00 "The Way Forward" (working session to produce an action plan) chaired by Roger Bowers, Director, ELD, British Council
17.00 Completion and Collection of Evaluation Questionnaires.
17.30 End

Saturday 1 August
09.00 Round-up and Feedback Session chaired by John Hilton A/Director ELD, British Council
12.45 Lunch
14.00 Depart

Aspects of Accountability

Given the topic of this session and the week, I should like to begin with some general statements about shared values, because all measurement depends on our assumptions as to what is and is not worth measuring. Other speakers this morning will address the impact of ELT within the development agenda from the perspectives of the educationist, the economist and the aid donor, and I shall be speaking from the perspective of the British Council and with particular regard to the Council's role in promoting the use and teaching of the English language. But we all start from a common position of concern with development in the aided countries and with the contribution which education and training can make to that development. Looking round the room, what is true of all of us is that we have spent a good part of our professional life 'in the field' and whatever our other functions and institutional roles share a commitment to the role of education in development.

I make this rather obvious statement because the theme for this year's "Dunford at Alston" is justifiable at three levels, and it is the third of these which validates the other two. We will be examining the socio-economic impact of ELT firstly out of a recognition that aid funding is not unlimited and that ELT, indeed all education and training, has to compete for funds against other valuable activity: we need to develop our case. Secondly, we will be exploring an area of description and evaluation which has intrinsic intellectual interest for us. But thirdly we explore the question because of our belief that education does matter, that within the curriculum language education matters, and within that access to English pursued through various means. Our task then is a genuine one and not selfishly contrived: it is the process of recognising our accountability to those who fund and support our professional activity and of finding the means and measures for holding ourselves to account.

It is an emphasis on accountability, whether in the narrow sense of value for money (VFM) or in broader terms, that has characterised the relationship between government, the public services and agencies over the last twelve years and more. None of us here has been immune from the pressures which that emphasis has brought to bear upon us, our institutions and our accepted practices. The British Council is no exception. We have for over five years been preoccupied with VFM in the development of new management and planning processes. We are open to competition in a new and demanding fashion. And we have now embarked on a far-reaching and fundamental agenda for cultural change within the organisation which (in common with some other organisations) we term repositioning. This asks in relation to our own aims and the expectations of our sponsors and our clients what counts as success in terms of effectiveness and efficiency. In the strategic induction programme which is helping some 200 of our managers to focus on these issues, one of the diagrams which we find it useful to think through is 'the happy atom' (see Appendix 1) which sets shared values at the centre of a network of related concerns and focal points for change. It is a perception which may help this week in expanding our approach to the measurement of project performance.

But let me say a bit more on the notion of accountability. For the British Council, serving a range of sponsors and clients, accountability relates to its grant in aid, revenue and aid activity and thus involves:

- its sponsors in HMG;
- its clients and customers;
- the contracting agencies (notably ODA);

through a variety of collaborative, competitive, contractual and also constituency relationships and in a climate of change where all our activities and relationships are a matter for constant reappraisal. In all areas we are learning to assess better who we are accountable to; what they expect of us; and how they measure satisfaction with the services that we provide. The answers we come up with are varied but not, we hope, in conflict.

Now my own direct concern is with the Council's work in ELT around the world, a programme which (no doubt like your own institutional agendas) incorporates many components, draws support from a range of sources and pursues a variety of objectives, and is thus multiply accountable. In much of the aided world (again in common with yourselves) the bulk of our work in ELT is funded by ODA and must therefore be justified in terms of ODA's current articulation of aims and criteria of efficiency and effectiveness. Hence Dunford 1991 in which we began to ask the relevant questions, and Dunford 1992 which may begin to provide the answers or at least the means by which they can be rigorously pursued. This search for socio-economic justification within the development agenda is not new ground, though I have to say that it is not clear to me where ready guidance is available from outside let alone within the ELT world.

Let me therefore set out in tabular form my own analysis of accountability in the context of educational and specifically ELT projects, and leave you to consider relevant indicators and evaluation procedures.

Accountability:

A. To the Recipient Partner (eg the host government)

Direct benefit
- Specified aims and objectives

Comparative benefit
- Effectiveness compared with alternative aims
- Efficiency compared with alternative mechanisms

Side benefit
- Related to objectives (the development curriculum)
- Related to personnel (the human resources agenda)

B. To the Donor Partner (eg ODA)

Direct benefit
- Specified aims and objectives

Comparative benefit
- Effectiveness compared with alternative aims
- Efficiency compared with alternative mechanisms

Side benefit
- Related to objectives (the aid curriculum)
- Related to resources (spin-off factor)

C. To the Agent (eg BC)

Direct benefit
- Specified aims and objectives

Comparative benefit
- Effectiveness: compatibility with corporate objectives
- Efficiency: compatibility with corporate competence

D. To the End Client (eg the trainee)

- Information
- Attitudes
- Skills
- Credentials

E. To the Professional Authorities (eg 'the constituency')

- Process (best professional practice)
- Process (best utilisation practice)
- Product (dissemination; exploitation; continuation)

Throughout this inventory of aspects of accountability runs the need for sound evidence through indicators which are:

- internal to the project (mainly efficiency);
- external to the project (mainly effectiveness)
  immediate: medium term: long term:

and related to the broader environment and core developmental concerns.

That is, if you like, the agenda for the week; it is, I repeat, an agenda of more than intellectual interest or sectoral advantage. It raises fundamental concerns about the value of ELT within language education within the educational curriculum within the aid agenda.

To assist with that hierarchy of aims and justifications I offer in Appendix 2 a second diagram (my own inverted Saqqara pyramid) which may help in clarifying the specific and generic questions which through case study and discussion you will be considering.

Roger Bowers

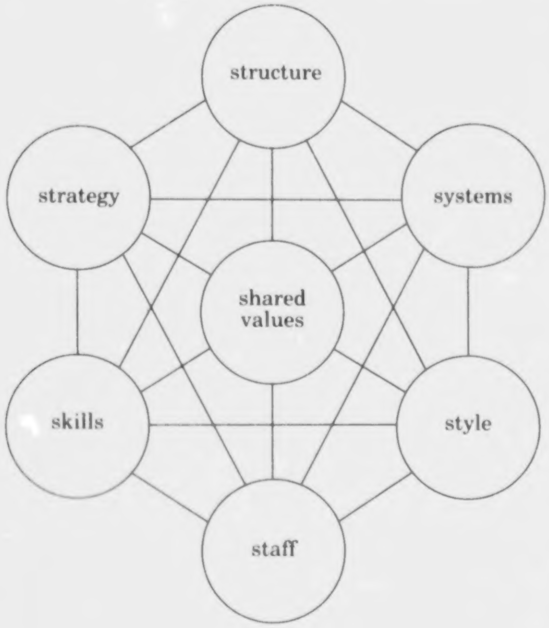
Reference

Peters, T J and Waterman, R H *In Search of Excellence* Harper and Row 1983

Appendix 1

Dimensions of success

(Peters and Waterman, 1983)

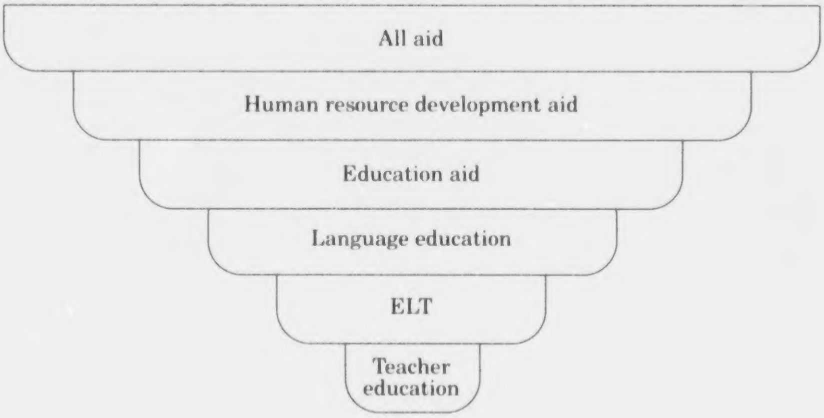

structure
strategy
systems
shared values
skills
style
staff

The Happy Atom

With this model, Peters and Waterman identify where you should look in an organization for issues which might be helping or hindering its performance

Appendix 2

The Evaluation Hierachy


All aid
Human resource development aid
Education aid
Language education
ELT
Teacher education

On which we may superimpose:

Generic questions :

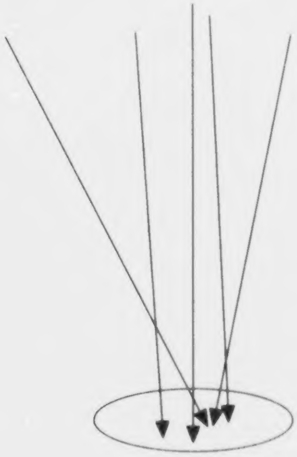
What is the value of.......?
impact
relevance
cost
comparative benefit
etc.

→ education aid?

→ university sector EAP?

Or specific country questions:

What is the justification for project x in country y ?



The Value of English in Development

I have chosen a title for this talk which I hope bears directly on the main subject of this conference but which, at the same time, is appropriate to the mindset of my vintage in English teaching. Educationists have, of course, learned to adjust to the vocabulary and mode of thinking in vogue at any particular time amongst those who allocate resources. We can therefore share discourse with those who regard "value" as being a complete equivalent of "cash value".

In estimating the value to the individual of investment in education, one takes account of the private return in the form of salary increments for each progressive educational increment. An education which on average increases the annual income of the consumer of that education is cost-effective, that which does not is not cost-effective. Terms such as 'happiness', 'culture', 'social adjustment' and 'personal adjustment' are such vague terms and are so difficult to define that they can hardly be brought into the argument in the same frame as per capita income. Indeed a study of the relationship between happiness and per capita income would be illuminating but difficult to justify in terms of cost-effectiveness! And it is as difficult to define as it is to place a cash value on the quality of education which produces those charismatic and selfless individuals who have made and continue to make such an immense contribution to the very existence of life on this planet.

At the micro level of institutional development, we are equally in the dark about the relationship between cost and quality of education. Teachers were astonished for some years when they were told by researchers that there was no correlation between class size and children's learning. In the last three or four years, a revision of methodology in this type of study has taken place which now, we are told, suggests that class size is indeed related very closely to pupils' ability to learn. Moreover, the role of the leadership of the School has also been reappraised and we are told that such leadership is one of the most important contributors to children's learning ability. In higher education currently, we are attempting to evaluate the change in student experience as small seminar groups are replaced, to lower the cost, by mass lectures, sometimes transmitted to additional rooms by television. To estimate the saving in offering a reduced seminar programme to students is relatively easy: to estimate any reduction in the potential development of the ability to evaluate evidence, defend a thesis and make effective oral and written statements of complicated situations is much more difficult. It can certainly not be done by looking at degree classifications. As the author of what I believe was the first article on programmed learning printed in a British journal in 1961, I have long believed that any teaching goal which can be clearly defined can be taught and that anything which can be defined in this way for teaching purposes can also be tested, and consequently can be costed. Nevertheless, forty years on I am driven to admit that the unpredictable outcomes of the educational process are amongst the most important and that planning for unpredictability cannot be regarded as an exact science. It is often said by employers that they prefer, for certain jobs, students from the Open University who, by completing their degrees by distance learning, have shown qualities of perseverance and self-reliance which are of great value to their companies. I have, however, not yet seen any studies which attempt to evaluate these qualities in terms of cost-effectiveness particularly when these are compared with the qualities that may be derived from daily contact with fellow students and with members of the teaching staff. It is in fact true that one can generalise about major institutional organisations of such different kinds and decide between them in terms of cost-effectiveness per se.

When one considers the impact of particular types of education on national development, one meets even more intractable problems. Indeed the variables are so many and various that it is difficult for a lay person to imagine a research design which would take adequate account of all of them. Indeed if such studies could be done in a reliable way, one would expect the economic performance of the countries which could afford to make this type of analysis to be smoother and more predictable than it is. Instead, we see those nations stagger from one economic crisis to another while internationally reputable economists disagree about the remedies. Even the accountants who practise what, until I became involved in institutional management, had always seemed to me to be an exact science, find it difficult to describe and define the health of the institutions of which they are in charge, as can be seen recently in the catastrophic crashes both of banking institutions, which presumably employ the largest number of accountants, and of major international businesses. I have noted how easy it is, when drawing up the balance sheet of a University like my own with an annual turnover of about £160 million to change a deficit into a surplus or vice versa in short term projections by a slight change in the assumptions that are being made during the planned period with regard, for example, to the annual inflation rate, the amortization period of a major loan or some other equally arbitrary but important element of the projection.

To be clear about the limits of cost-effectiveness studies, however, does not mean that one should not try to come as close as one can to making sensible and, one hopes, increasingly reliable analyses and predictions. Since we are rational beings,we have no alternative than to attempt to discern a pattern in the operations of economic 'laws'. I think, however, that it is necessary on an occasion like this to remind ourselves that sometimes equally good results are obtained from the process often described by my mentor, Professor John Lewis, as 'by guess and by God' as by the computer-aided and highly extensive analyses of economists.

Before we can reasonably look at ways of measuring the value of any educational enterprise, we need to attempt to define that value. I propose therefore to make one or two observations which seem to me to bear on the issues under discussion and then to address myself to the nature of the value of programmes in communication skills, particularly in English.

Every year, a 'recruiting circus' travels around the universities of Britain recruiting trainees for posts in industry and commerce. The skills which are being sought are, on the whole, not those which are specific to the employer concerned. The recruiters are looking for general skills, abilities and attitudes such as an ability to draw deductions from evidence, general cultural knowledge, ability with languages and ease of social intercourse. Arts and Science students who demonstrate these abilities are selected even for such knowledge specific areas as accountancy, even if they have no knowledge of accountancy whatever, as well as for management posts. Since industrialists are not philanthropists, it can only be assumed that this method of selection and these criteria are thought to have been effective in the past. The same is true of entry into the higher branches of the Civil Service. As is well known, the competitive examinations have both a subject specific and a general component, the former providing a knowledge threshold and the general providing the selection mechanism. Again, emphasisis placed on wide general knowledge and an ability on the part of the candidates to think rationally and creatively on the basis of evidence provided. Language and social skills clearly play an important part in this type of selection and have a heavy weighting of fitness for purpose. In spite of the perceived importance of these qualities, however, we rarely articulate or define them as a desired outcome of educational systems and have incomplete knowledge of the way to develop them. Instead we define more narrowly instrumental goals which are easier to assess and evaluate. My first observation, therefore, is that some of the outcomes of the educational process which are valued most highly are those which are hardest to define, produce and evaluate.

My second observation is that English is fast becoming the international lingua franca for the discussion of all aspects of western oriented knowledge and business. It is now the normal language for conferences and even at meetings which are specifically multilingual, such as UNESCO or EEC meetings. It is English which takes the position of pre-eminence. This is not a situation which has been planned or which is necessarily desirable. However, it is the situation which currently obtains and there seems little possibility of a major change of direction in the immediate future.

A satisfactory knowledge of English is therefore an essential requirement for all those who wish to bargain on terms of equality with those for whom English is a native or near native tongue.

As a consequence of this, there is an international demand, from individuals, from companies and in many cases as a government policy objective, for English instruction from Beijing to Windhoek. Rightly or wrongly, it is perceived as important for personal development in terms of preparation for higher earning posts and it is seen as a national requirement, at least for a proportion of the population in terms of national development. Those who fuel this demand do so as a result of their own knowledge, observation and experience.

My last observation, however, is that there is little doubt either that primary education is best given in the language of the home where it is possible to do this. The evidence is that this leads to firmer and more secure learning. It may also have other benefits relating to the place of acquired knowledge in the social framework. Peripheral questions as to whether this would still be true if all the teachers were highly trained and fully proficient in the second language of instruction are largely irrelevant since at primary level this is virtually never the case in developing countries. In fact, however, one of the rare studies in this area showed, as Desmond Nuttall indicated in his 1991 Dunford House paper, that 'countries that use English as a medium of instruction were likely to have a higher degree of educational attainment than those that did not'. This is one of those findings, extensively supported in this case by studies in 50 African countries, that produces results so contrary to teachers' experience that it sets the practitioners' alarm bells ringing. It is not, however, a conclusion that can be discarded until it has been proved to be false.

Before continuing, it may be helpful to note the different levels at which we have to attribute value and the way in which, in any given case, those levels may conflict with each other. For example, Namibia has decided to adopt English as the national language and therefore the language of education. This may be good for the future peace and good government of the nation. On the other hand, the decision could be regarded as an unfortunate one for the large group of Afrikaans speakers in Namibia. Moreover, a young individual who speaks fluently both English and Afrikaans may be obliged to study to be a teacher, whereas in his own interests, he may be much more concerned to be a lawyer and would regard this as a more profitable career to enter. It is important therefore to specify to which level of consideration, individual, group or nation one is referring at any given time.

The goal of national unity is one of the most important goals set by many governments especially those in multi-cultural and multi-lingual areas. Each case tends to be unique. Most countries of this sort would cite the United States of America and its language policy as being a sound example of success in stressing the importance of a single national language in order to develop a uniform culture and set of values. Canada is clearly following the same pattern though it is fundamentally different from the United States in having a large French-speaking population with its own political and cultural aspirations. Nigeria is another country which deliberately chose English as the national lingua franca with the expressed aim of encouraging national unity. In the years immediately after independence, it attempted to build up a network of national secondary schools each with its school population drawn from various different language groups unified by English as the language of instruction. The advent of the Biafran war curtailed this experiment and made it impossible to discover whether or not it would have served its express purpose of developing a single national identity. Another example is Namibia which, as we have already seen, has deliberately adopted English, which historically for that country is regarded as the language of liberation, in preference to Afrikaans, which is regarded as the language of oppression. To implement this decision will be an extraordinarily complex and expensive task. Yet the establishment of national unity must be regarded as an essential requirement in Namibia. If the use of English as a national language contributes towards that unity, it will undoubtedly be a very important contribution to peace in Southern Africa. Whether there are more cost-effective ways of achieving the same goal seems to me an interesting subject for speculation but perhaps one on which a definitive answer cannot be found.

Moreover, as we all know, language policy can be the focus for dissension as well as unity and several nations have found their peace disrupted by the choice of national language. Throughout the world at the present time, there is a move towards the recovery and re-establishment of minority languages and an attempt to prevent the domination of the languages and therefore of the culture of minority groups by a major lingua franca. The strength of this movement would have been difficult to forecast even two decades ago and it is equally difficult to generalise about the conditions which give rise to this new form of nationalism and for how long it is likely to continue in an acute form. It is not likely that we shall under-estimate its importance, however, as we survey the recent history of the former USSR and of Yugoslavia. Certainly the imposition of one vernacular and one culture on a multi-lingual and multi-cultural country can certainly be shown as not necessarily conducive to national unity in the long term. Whether the similar imposition of a language foreign to all would be more or less successful, it is difficult to prove though there are suggestive examples to draw on. It is clear, however, that any nation/state must have a workable way of communicating with its citizens if it is to survive as a state. Switzerland with its centuries of peace and its expensive educational system may be able to prosper with more than one national language. Whether the same would be true of Nigeria, with around 300 languages or Papua New Guinea with its amazing prolixity of languages, it is not easy to say.

What is clear, however, is that where English is chosen as a lingua franca, the language also gives access to a world language of communication and scholarship. This is clearly a tremendous benefit for a variety of reasons. It is valuable in all aspects of diplomacy including aid diplomacy. It is useful for students to have access to the vast literature available in the English language. Indeed at higher levels of scholarship, it is now an essential requirement for scholars of all subjects of all nationalities. Moreover, even at lower levels of education, it may be necessary, for purposes of publishing economy, to use a lingua franca to produce suitable books at reasonable prices even at junior school level. Even when using English as the medium, commercial publishers often find it necessary to produce textbooks for groups of countries with a few specific country-oriented pages and with different covers. By producing cheaper, more utilitarian text books, curriculum development centres and national literacy agencies can often publish books more cheaply for a smaller number of consumers, though below a certain number, which will differ in each country considered, such publication can only be done with a government subsidy.

We are treading here in territory of which the main parameters have hardly been drawn and in which we have little research evidence. Some of the questions are detailed; for example, what is the smallest language group for which it is realistically possible to produce vernacular school texts up to a) the end of primary school or b) the end of secondary school? If such books were produced, would there be sufficient teachers whose mother tongue was in that particular language to teach in all the schools concerned? Others are more important philosophical points; for example, is it necessary to teach all pupils English in order to provide for the needs of diplomacy, scholarship, etc or should one concentrate on providing the high quality language education which is necessary for the relatively small cadres concerned? How would the selection of these particular individuals be made and at what stage? Questions of equity enter the debate at a very early point. Moreover, a good deal of the evidence needed to answer such questions would be country specific, larger scale comparative studies only being of use for very general guidance.

Even the impact of using English as a lingua franca on the intellectual development and cultural identity of the nation has hardly been systematically examined though loud assertions are frequently made. The impact of multi-lingualism on individuals has been frequently explored. The general conclusion seems to be that children brought up in a country or countries in which several languages are spoken can become proficient in several of them providing all the languages are regularly exercised. Where this is the case, the evidence would seem to indicate that a higher proficiency is reached at any one time in the language which is most used but that the languages can change position if there is a movement from one language environment to another. This sort of evidence is very useful. It does not, however, help us in countries where the models of one or more of the languages, for example, English, are inadequate models and in particular where the school teachers who are teaching the target language have an inadequate grasp of it themselves. Questions relating to the feasibility of introducing English as the national language and the language of education in Namibia therefore in terms of the provision of materials, the re-training of teachers and the effect of the change on school standards cannot in my view be answered with any degree of certainty in our present state of knowledge nor can we know with any precision what it will cost nor whether that cost is worth paying. Some guidance may be sought from comparative studies but the differences of population numbers, mix of vernaculars, history, political orientation and existing educational frameworks are so variable that the results of such studies must be treated with extreme caution. The consequences of making one choice, rather than another, are likely to be of great importance yet the outcome of such choices depends on a great variety of factors which we find it difficult to understand and even more difficult to control.

Nevertheless, choices have to be made and methodologies have to be developed to make such choices possible and effective. Indeed both parts of the term 'cost-effectiveness' have to be unpacked if adequate comparisons are to be made. In terms of cost, for example, a basic programme of a relatively simple type, for example, to build and equip a training college for a given number of students to teach certain subjects up to a specified level and to train local staff to teach in that college would produce greatly varying estimates from those tendering for the project. An American and British team would be likely to quote very different prices because of the different rules of AID and ODA and their different styles of operation. Moreover, the cost of a British project to a developing country changes completely when the rules governing aid operations also change, as they have done frequently in the past. Is it, for example, necessary to use British carriers for the transport of staff or could one go for the cheapest carrier? Are there restrictions on the provenance of equipment: can it be bought from the cheapest source or must it be bought either from the donor country or from the country in which the project is placed? Must a proportion of the training be done in the donor country or can some or all of it be done in the project country? Must all the aid personnel be citizens of the donor country or can they be drawn from any country in the world? These are just a few of the questions which can totally change the cost of any project and they are all questions relating to national policy, rather than to the substance or quality of the programme.

Questions of effectiveness are equally difficult to define. The project system through which we have just been passing and from which it appears that we may be about to emerge has built into its structure definitions of effectiveness by which the success of a particular project can be evaluated. Very often these are expressed in terms of the achievement of certain targets by specified dates. For example, draft text books up to certain class levels in certain subjects may have to be completed by a certain date and be in the schools by another date; a certain number of head teachers may have to have completed three-week training programmes in school management by a certain date; a certain number of future lecturers in primary education are to have completed appropriate degrees in British or American universities to enable them to do their task by a certain date. Measures of this kind can very easily be evaluated. Whether,however, the curricula and text books produced are in fact the best that could be produced for the pupils to learn what it is intended that they should learn is an entirely different question. Whether the new lecturers in primary education are able to teach so well in their own primary schools that they can provide a convincing and wholesome model to their students is a different level of evaluation which we find it difficult to embark on. Yet these are the questions which really matter and which are themselves dependent upon the future economic prosperity of the country which will enable the accompanying needs of the children to be met, the necessary books and equipment to be bought and teachers paid sufficiently to persuade some of the brightest young men and women to enter the teaching profession. Answers to these questions in turn may depend upon whether the rainfall over a particular period is average or below average or whether scientific and industrial developments require a particular mineral which is available in the country concerned.

I would not wish the general tenure of these remarks to be misunderstood. I am certainly fully committed to the notion of exploiting existing methodologies and developing new ones to ensure that we derive the best value from a stated expenditure in giving aid to developing countries or indeed in answering questions on social issues in our own country. What I am trying to say, however, is that the technology for making educational decisions at the present time with any degree of accuracy in our forecasts is still in rather a crude handicraft stage. Even on a global scale the estimates, for example, at Jomtien, of the cost of providing Education for All by the year 2000 can only be regarded as showing that a certain level of activity is not totally beyond the bounds of possibility and that the social and egalitarian aims underlying such provision are aims that can, and should, be striven for. To do this in a way which produces the motivation which is already evident in order to make changes in this direction is an amazing achievement. To imagine, however, that the costs forecast will fall in any way as anticipated by the various economic projections presented at the conference would be to court bitter disappointment. Nevertheless, we must attempt to produce 'best guesses' on the basis of the maximum amount of information gathered from the best study we can make of similar situations if our decisions are to have any rationality whatever.

The political dimension is, however, one which it is particularly difficult to deal with. Much aid has been given and received in order to gain political benefits. Many gifts have been received because of such putative benefits when on other grounds the gifts should clearly have been rejected. Sometimes the benefits concerned are very ill-defined. For example, the amount of money which the French pour into teaching French language and culture all over the world must be regarded by that government as being generally beneficial in terms of previous experience. It is doubtful, however, whether the actual economic and political benefits have ever been thoroughly evaluated nor is it easy to see how they could be. It seems therefore that we are left in the position of attempting to make the best use of the skills which are gradually being developed to cost and evaluate education activity though this cannot be held to free us from the exercise of judgement based on the experience of those individuals who are ultimately charged with the responsibility of making decisions. I am afraid this conclusion is the best that I can offer in the knowledge that it is totally unsatisfactory, not least in that it condemns us to a continued life of long committee meetings, conferences and discussions.

I can summarise what I have said in five sentences. Firstly, language is not just a subject which can be easily evaluated but a potent force integral with individual and national identity which can as easily lead to bloodshed and the disintegration of the state as to peace and stability. Secondly, any attempt to determine the cost-effectiveness of any educational process must be preceded by a painstaking definition of the intended aims of the process and the possible unwanted outcomes before its success or failure can be evaluated. Thirdly, that orthodoxies change so quickly that a becoming degree of humility and a sensible degree of bet-hedging is necessary if we are not to do more harm than good in our evaluation of cost-effectiveness in education. Fourthly, that our evaluations are concerned currently with tactical issues, because these are the ones we know how to address. We have still to find ways of evaluating the strategic issues, which are by far the most important. And fifthly, that nevertheless we cannot avoid the responsibility of doing our best to ensure that scarce resources are properly employed. Perhaps the list of topics for research scattered about this paper will help to fulfil this responsibility.

John D. Turner

Economics and ELT

Introduction

"An economist is a person who knows the price of everything and the value of nothing."

That is a not uncommon view of economists. But it is quite false. Explaining why market prices sometimes fail to measure social value has been a major activity of economists. Monopoly, external costs such as pollution, or incidental benefits such as reduced congestion on old roads when a new turnpike is built are examples of market failure and can justify government controls, or taxes and subsidies designed to correct market price distortions. The growth of environmental concerns, the need to improve efficiency in health services, and in education as rising expenditures press on government budgets have accelerated economists' interest in finding ways of valuing benefits and costs in areas where explicit markets seldom exist. This is relevant to the concerns of this seminar. If English language teaching has to compete for resources against projects where benefits are readily valued then it will be at a disadvantage. A general appeal to the self-evident merits of foreigners learning English will not cut much ice. What is required is a systematic way of setting out, and where possible valuing, the contribution which ELT will make to achieving a set of objectives. These objectives could be very specific as when an agency lays down the objectives and invites tenders. Or they could be much more general if the aid agency has been approached by the host government for assistance to many projects over several fields and where the demands exceed the finances allocated for aid to that country. Fortunately cost-effective analysis and cost-benefit analysis are two techniques which conveniently provide a framework for the economic appraisal of a project or programme.

The real difficulties of these approaches lie not in the formulae but in the welfare economic theory which underpins the methods of valuing the outputs and inputs of the activity being appraised. I can only give something of a flavour of that in this talk. There will always be a large element of judgement involved in any economic appraisal. The merit of the cost-benefit approach is that it makes these explicit and can force consistency across projects.

Most people find benefit-cost analysis easier to follow if one starts with the way in which a commercial firm would be expected to evaluate a possible investment. So, I shall start there and then show how the method is adapted to become an appraisal which seeks to estimate social rather than private benefits and costs. I choose to do this with a health project which shares some of the problems of estimating and valuing benefits that you are likely to face in ELT. Next, I want to discuss the economic analysis of the value of education and training in general, and finally turn to ELT.

I hasten to add that in forty minutes I can do no more than sketch the main ideas. Each of these sections has textbooks devoted solely to them. I have distributed the names of various books and articles which I hope you will be interested enough to follow up. Meantime you will have to bear with some heroic simplifications and lack of qualifications to what are often complex and sometimes controversial ideas.

Commercial Appraisal of a Proposed Investment

We assume a firm whose objective is to maximise profits and whose managers are rational in the pursuit of that aim. We also assume that two potential projects (A and B) have already cleared technical and legal hurdles. Both are do-able. The first step is to estimate all the costs and revenues which would accrue to the firm as a result of each project in each year over the assumed life of the project. The net revenues (revenues-cost) for projects A and B are set out in Table 1. The decision maker has to decide whether either or both the projects are worth doing. If they were mutually exclusive, for example, alternative ways of producing the same service, the firm has to choose between them. How should it do so?

Crude methods like the number of years it would take to repay the original capital invested, or the annual average percentage return, are rough guides, but they are not really satisfactory because they fail to take account of the timing of the costs and revenues and may therefore mislead. Both firms and individuals do have a preference for net earnings sooner rather than later. Most of us expect our incomes to rise over time, so diminishing marginal utility of income alone provides a reason why, on the average, people will value an extra £100 to spend today more than an extra £100 in a year's time. This helps to explain why we demand interest to persuade us to cut our consumption today and lend the money saved to financial institutions. If the market interest rate were 10% then we should be indifferent between £100 now and £110 in a year (ignoring tax complications). Equally we can express this as the present value of £110 in a year's time is £100. This is the clue to the use of Discounted Cash Flow (DCF) analysis which is the standard way that accountants and economists take account of time in comparing projects. By discounting the net revenues as they appear in the yearly cash flows and summing them over the life of the project we arrive at the net present value of each project. The firm should choose as its test discount rate the rate at which it can borrow. If both projects have a positive net present value (NPV) then both pass the financial test. If they are mutually exclusive projects eg.two ways of producing the same service or if the firm for some reason cannot raise enough capital for both, then it should choose the one with the higher NPV. The effect of discounting is to reduce the weight given to money earned or spent in later years compared with earlier ones. In our example both projects are viable at 10% rate of discount, and if they are mutually exclusive projects B is to be preferred. The higher the rate chosen the more projects with a quick payoff will be favoured. From the view point of the firm the opportunity cost of later rather than earlier revenue surpluses is that the earlier they come the more they could have earned when reinvested.

So far we have ignored the issue of risk. But all these estimates of revenues and costs are only forecasts and subject to uncertainty. Some projects are inherently more risky than others. Given two projects with equal net present values we should choose the less risky one. There are various ways of taking risk into account but there is no time here to go into them.

Benefit-Cost Analysis

If a public sector industry is given the instruction to maximise profits or minimise the required subsidy then it would appraise a new activity in the same way as the private firm. Presumably that is pretty much what British Rail is having to do at present. But let us suppose now that we are considering a project in a field such as health. Like education (or teaching English) the services produced are generally not sold in a free market. Let us also suppose that the project is in a large African country whose domestic prices are very distorted because of price controls in some areas, subsidies and taxes in others and high import barriers. This is one among many projects put up to an aid agency whose resources are much less than the total demands placed on it. The agency needs a rational decision-making process which enables it to make the best possible selection of projects which would use up the budgeted resources for that country. Its objectives are, broadly, to promote social and economic development. That could of course embrace quite a lot of subsidiary objectives: increasing consumption, increasing resources available for re-investment, increasing job opportunities, reducing inequalities in income distribution, improving the status of women, reducing the prevalence of child labour and so on. This is where judgement and common sense come in. You cannot expect every project to contribute to the solution of every problem and no one has the time or the resources to track down and quantify every effect of a project.

One just has to do one's best given these limitations. Collecting and analysing information has its cost too.

Most economists would try to measure the effect on increasing the present value of consumption and they would try to identify which groups in society would benefit most. If it was a very large project and its income distribution effects were likely to be important then one could weight the benefits going to the relatively poorer members of the society more than those benefits accruing to the better off. Other effects which are too difficult to quantify can be listed and left to the qualitative valuation of the final decision makers. But we should quantify in money values as much as we can. It is essential to express the benefits and costs in money values in order to add together different benefits and costs.

'Shadow' prices or social accounting prices

As market prices are distorted we need some guiding principle to help us in valuing the inputs used (materials, labour, capital) and outputs produced (improved health, lives saved). For inputs the basic principle is opportunity costs. If workers for this project are drawn from the ranks of the unemployed or from underemployed rural labourers the cost to the economy is the output that would be sacrificed by shifting them from their present situation to working in the project. But that is likely to be much less than the wages which will be paid to them in the government health service. We need to estimate a shadow wage which would include the value of output lost by taking workers from the rural economy or from the informal sector in the towns to work in the project. We should also have to add the costs to society of putting them to work in the project such as provision of housing, water and electricity and the costs of their extra consumption due to their increased incomes.

The shadow exchange rate

Medical equipment and vaccines will have to be imported. The financial cost in local currency will be the cost in foreign exchange times the official exchange rate. But in most developing countries foreign exchange is very scarce. Their export earnings and net capital inflows fall far below the amounts they could usefully spend on imports for consumption and investment. So they ration the use of foreign exchange by controls and high barriers to imports. This rationing of foreign exchange holds down the number of units of local currency needed to buy a dollar. The local currency is overvalued by as much as 50%. The existence of parallel markets and illegal black markets for foreign currency is evidence of this tendency. What this implies is that a unit of foreign exchange is worth a great deal more than the official number of units of local currency that the central bank will give for it. So we need a shadow rate of foreign exchange to enable us to value any input or output of the project which uses or saves foreign exchange, requires imports, increases exports or replaces imports. Normally the shadow rate would be calculated by a central planning body for consistent use by all project analysts.

The shadow interest rate

The same would be true of the rate of interest or discount used in calculating the NPV of the project. Most developing countries do not allow interest rates to be market determined. They hold down interest rates to public sector borrowers. But this means that there is a large excess demand for capital in the private sector which means that many potential highly productive ventures are thwarted. Again a planning agency will usually provide a test discount rate to be used for all projects. The aid agency providing the funds will often have its own test rate. These rates are in real terms i.e. they ignore inflation. In fact in most project evaluation we carry out all the calculations in the prices of the initial year. We can discuss why we ignore inflation later if you wish.

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Other price adjustments

Other price adjustments that may have to be made are to deduct any taxes paid on goods and add back any subsidies. We wish to allow for the real costs of any electricity used in the project. These may be significantly higher than the price charged by the national power company. In most developing countries electricity prices do not cover the full costs of production and distribution. Taxes on vehicles bought for the project should be deducted. They are a mere transfer within the economy, not a real cost. Let's now turn to the outputs.

The direct outputs of a health project would be in terms of numbers of vaccinations given, numbers of patients seen, diagnosed, treated and so on. But the ultimate goals are lives saved, sickness reduced, suffering of victims and relatives avoided or alleviated. A technical appraisal would attempt to put numbers on these. Questions to be asked at this point would include whether these objectives could be achieved in other, possibly cheaper ways: preventive rather than curative approaches, treatment in large city hospitals, in small township centres or in the home, carefully targeted, or broader approaches, and so on. This requires interchange between technical and economic appraisers. It requires experience and imagination from the analysts. They need to be familiar with the institutions, politics and customs of the area where the project would be.

Valuation of the benefits would be in terms of the gains to the economy from prevented loss of work due to death and sickness. This would involve multiplying work years by the market, or the shadow wage rate, depending on whether the workers involved were fully employed at wages which reflected the value of their marginal product, or were likely to be unemployed, or underemployed. Estimation gets more difficult as we move on to wives and mothers saved. We ought to put some monetary value on the costs to the society of losing them. We also ought to put some value on the reduction of suffering. This may offend sensitivities or seem impossible, but law courts already tackle both of these issues in compensation claims and damage suits. Actuaries and economists are called in as special witnesses to help the courts on such matters, particularly in USA. Implicitly, police and local authorities do it when they decide on whether to install a pedestrian crossing or traffic controls. Whether we do actually attempt to add these benefits into the monetary calculus or simply list them is a matter of time, resources and taste.

Externalities (side benefits or costs)

In addition to direct outputs the project may have some external effects or side effects. Suppose it were to control malaria through spraying breeding areas with DDT. As is well known, DDT kills many beneficial insects as well as harmful ones. It also builds up in predators such as birds and fish, reducing their populations. The economic losses associated with these effects should go in as costs of the project. But a health project may have external benefits as well. It may train health auxiliaries who, when this project is finished, become available for other projects which do not have to incur the costs of training them. This may be worth including as an extra benefit if it can be reasonably anticipated. (Do ELT projects have externalities?)

Once all the direct and indirect costs and benefits of the project have been identified they should be valued wherever possible and set out in an annual cash flow exactly as for the commercial appraisal. Calculation of the NPV of the project then provides a major input into the decision making process which determines whether the aid agency finances this or some other project. The non-quantifiable factors, politics, the special preferences of the agency and so on may still play key roles. But the project appraisers should have done their bit towards reducing the "hunch" factor and increasing the rationality of the decision process.

Cost-Effectiveness Analysis

In this approach one omits the benefit side. The output objective is agreed and the economic question becomes one of setting out the relative costs to the society of different means of achieving the objective. This is much more limited in that it does not question the merits of the objective as compared with other objectives which could be achieved with alternative uses of the resources. As benefits are usually much the more speculative and difficult to estimate, a cost-effectiveness appraisal is simpler to do. It still, however, involves the same "shadow pricing" methodology outlined above.

Returns to Education

The economics of education has been heavily influenced by the human capital approach. This treats education and training as similar to investment in physical capital such as machines, factories and roads. Individuals are viewed as investing in additional years of education as long as they expect the NPV of their future earnings to be increased by an amount at least equal to the cost. Most of the cost to the individual is sacrificed earnings when education is free or heavily subsidised by the state. For the nation similar considerations apply. It should invest in education and training up to the point where the returns just equal to the marginal return on investment in physical capital. For an optimum, marginal returns on all types of training and all types of investment should be equalised. Otherwise it would always pay to reduce investment in those activities where the marginal return is relatively low and shift the resources released to activities where the marginal rate of return is relatively high.

Empirical Evidence on Returns to Education

Much empirical evidence shows a significant association between education and higher incomes both for individuals and nations. Table 2 shows statistical evidence for both private and social rates of return to primary, secondary and higher education in selected regions and countries. The social returns are lower than the private ones because in most countries the main costs of education are met by the state. As these returns are higher than in most physical investments at the margin there seems to be a strong case for spending more on education, and favouring primary education in developing countries. But on further examination the evidence is less strong than at first appears. Could it be that the number of years in education typically correlates with higher innate ability and/or social class? If so, much of the association with extra years of education could be spurious since ability and social class are also likely to play a powerful role in generating ambition, gaining good jobs and influencing promotion. Also employers may use educational standards less as evidence of useful knowledge and training than as a screening device to select candidates for jobs which require some generalised ability and stamina.

Much evidence suggests that very few jobs make direct use of knowledge gained in education or even in vocational training. If these criticisms carry weight we have to consider whether some of the resources currently devoted to education by governments might not be better devoted to devising cheaper screening methods. Fortunately for educationists, like me, some recent studies give strong support to the view that cognitive skills such as literacy and numeracy account for much of the difference in earnings associated with higher levels of schooling. (M.Boissiere et al, 1985).

A recent paper also makes out a strong case that evidence published in the last few years shows that quality in education, as measured by expenditure per pupil and pupil-teacher ratios, has a positive and stable relationship with earnings in later life. This finding probably comes as no surprise to you, but educational economists have expressed scepticism about the benefits of both the quantity and quality of education (D. Cardand A. Kreuger, 1991).

At the macro level the consensus among development economists is that technology and human know-how are more important factors in explaining differences in rates of growth among nations than investment in physical capital. Countries like Japan, Korea and China are clearly convinced of it. They have invested heavily in education and continue to do so. Their growth may justify their faith. But much wider studies also bear out this view (World Bank, 1991, p.43 and p 55-59).

There are good grounds for thinking that most of these calculations actually underestimate the social and private gains from education. Most omit the gains from the influence of educated parents, particularly of mothers, upon their children and add nothing for the consumption gains from education such as access to literature, better appreciation of art and culture generally. It ignores much of the socialising effects of education in integrating societies and making democratic systems of government more workable.

This section has, I hope, illustrated the kinds of benefits which one would list and seek to quantify in an educational project. The costs, as we have noted, are not simply the tuition, accommodation and materials. Often a major cost, both for pupils/parents and society is the sacrificed output of the years spent in education beyond the permissible age of employment. This will differ between societies and bears heavily on family decisions in farming communities or where child labour is widely used and very productive such as hand-woven carpets. These ideas will I hope be useful when thinking about ELT projects to which we now turn.

The Economic Appraisal of ELT Projects and Programmes

A characteristic of the acquisition of a language (or for that matter mathematics) is that it is both an end in itself and a key which provides access to much else. It is hard to be good at physics or engineering without a fairly good grasp of maths. But maths is also an end in itself. Similarly people may learn English because they enjoy the language and its literature. But probably the majority of the foreigners who study English to a reasonably high standard do so because they want it for a special purpose. If we can demonstrate that English is essential for a particular purpose then a major element of the justification for ELT will depend on whether the purpose itself would pass an economic appraisal. If the social return on some doctors acquiring a specific surgical technique is high and a good working knowledge of English is essential for them to communicate with the English speaking surgeons who can teach it then one should treat the ELT provision as part of the project. Its costs are simply added to the costs of bringing the trainees and trainers together and effecting the transfer of knowledge. We should then check that the combined project meets the required criteria eg has a positive present value when discounted at the test rate.

Suppose a foreign Ministry of International Trade sought aid for the provision of ELT up to translator level for the sales staff of a large number of trading companies. An immediate question would be why, if they believe that this will raise the profits from exports, should they not pay for this themselves as a commercially profitable investment. But perhaps they do not have the necessary foreign exchange. Next, why do they need such a high level? They reply - because they need staff who can write attractive sales literature in English. But, then one must ask whether this could not be done better and cheaper if they simply hired some part-time native English writers to polish up the texts and eliminate the howlers committed by their present staff. Economic appraisal is not just about feeding numbers into a formula, it is about asking questions about objectives and the means proposed for attaining them. These are the areas where the ELT expert has an enormous advantage. Experience of previous projects gives knowledge about common pitfalls, common problems that arise, staffing, material and back-up that is essential. One should seldom take any claims for granted. In reviewing a project proposal in agriculture we found that a claimed increase in output by moving from single cropping to triple cropping was impossible, even with new irrigation, because there simply was not enough time to harvest one crop and plant the next. In preparing a proposal one has to put oneself in the position of the aid agencies' appraisers and try to anticipate their doubts and questions about the technical and economic feasibility of the proposal. There is little point in training ELT teachers in the use of the latest teaching aids if there is little prospect of their education ministry providing the equipment, or the general standards of maintenance are such that the equipment will be useless in a few months, or that there will be so little money in the educational budget that there will be no photocopying paper, or replacement bulbs for projectors.

But as practitioners or sponsors of ELT you are much better placed than I to suggest how ELT benefits can be assessed. Clearly many countries and many private citizens believe it has a high utility. Why else would they or their parents be prepared to pay the high fees demanded for courses in English mounted by both the private sector and the British Council? But for countries where poverty prevents the commercial purchase of ELT it is necessary to demonstrate that the gains from an ELT project are likely to be greater than alternative uses of the funds. The net present value of an extra £100,000 worth of ELT provision will differ from country to country depending on the need for English as a lingua franca or merely as a second language for special groups within the population. Each of the case studies presented at this seminar may come up with very different lists of benefits and costs because of the differing circumstances of the economies and projects with which they are concerned. But I would suggest that they should find it helpful to adopt the framework of cost-benefit analysis and the ideas which the work of economists in education, health and environmental sectors have thrown up in the last thirty years. ODA's *Planning Development Projects* (1983) has some helpful guidelines and a check list of questions in a chapter on appraising educational projects (pp.85-91) and the report from the Australian 'Workshop on Guidelines and Criteria for Overseas English Language Training Programs' (1992) does the same for ELT. They relieve me of attempting that task from my basis of considerable ignorance.

One issue I should like to emphasize. Economic appraisal is not in competition with appraisal of the technical, sociological, or political appraisal of a project of policy. They are complementary. A project has to meet all the criteria which would determine whether it can be done before trying to decide whether it is a better project than some alternative use of the funds. A proposed project or change of government policy which is likely to involve large costs and potential benefits should be appraised by a team which uses all the relevant disciplines.

Alasdair I MacBean

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Table 1

Commercial Appraisal: Discounted Cash Flow Analysis (£m)

Year	**Net Cash Flow**		**Discount**	**Present Values**	
	A	**B**	**Factor at 10%**	**A**	**B**
0	-20	-10	1.0	-20	-10
1	+3	+5	0.909	2.727	4.545
2	+5	+7	0.826	4.130	5.782
3	+6	+8	0.751	4.506	6.008
4	+6	+8	0.683	4.098	5.464
5	+6	+8	0.621	3.726	4.968
6	+6	-5	0.564	3.384	-2.820
7	+6	+4	0.513	3.078	2.052
8	+6	+3	0.467	2.802	1.401
9	+6	+2	0.424	2.544	0.848
10	-5	-10	0.386	-1.930	-3.860
Net Present values of Projects				9.065	14.388

These projects and data are entirely imaginary but one could think of A as an underground mine with a heavy initial expenditure on sinking shafts and then a slow build up of mineral extraction as the shafts extend, while B is an open-cast mine to extract the same mineral from the same source with lower start up costs, but a need to replace heavy earth moving machines and trucks in the sixth year, and heavy costs for restoring the area at its finish. At the 10% discount rate both projects would pay, but as they are mutually exclusive B is to be preferred because of its higher NPV. If you can lay your hands on a set of present value tables you may like to experiment with different rates of discount eg 5% and 20% to see if this makes a significant difference. NB without discounting A has the higher net cash flow.

All investment decisions are forward looking all of the figures are forecasts and they may be surrounded by much uncertainty. Risk is something we do have to take into account in both private and social investment appraisals, but I have no time to deal with this aspect today. See any of the references on cost-benefit analysis for ways to incorporate risk.

Table 2 Some estimates of rates of return to education

		Social			**Private** (a)		
Country	Year	Primary	Secondary	Higher	Primary	Secondary	Higher
Latin America							
Brazil	1970	na	24	13	na	25	14
Chile	1959	24	17	12	na	na	na
Colombia	1973	na	na	na	15	15	21
Africa							
Ethiopia	1972	20	19	10	35	23	27
Ghana	1967	18	13	17	25	17	37
Kenya	1971	22	19	9	28	33	31
Asia							
India	1978	29	14	11	33	20	13
Indonesia	1978 (b)	22	16	15	26	16	na
Pakistan	1975	13	9	8	20	11	27
South Korea	1971	na	15	9	na	16	16
Developed Countries							
Japan	1976	10	9	7	13	10	9
UK	1978	na	9	7	na	11	23
USA	1969 (c)	na	11	11	na	19	15

Source: George Psacharopoulos "Returns to Education: a Further International Update and Implications" *Journal of Human Resources* 20 no. 4 (April 1985) pp 583-604

(a) Income measures before payment of income taxes
(b) Social rates refer to 1978, private rates to 1977
(c) Private rates for secondary and higher education have declined since 1969; 1976 estimates are 11% and 5%, respectively. For social rates, no later estimates are available.

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Boissiere, M. et al "Earnings, Schooling, Ability and Cognitive Skills" *American Economic Review, 75 (5)*, December 1985

Card, D and Kreuger, A. (Princeton University Mimeograph) *Education in the Labor Market: A Partial Survey* Conference Paper June 1992

World Bank, World Development Report 1991: *The Challenge of Development* (OUP for World Bank 1991)

Some Suggested Readings Asterisked references are the simplest and most relevant to this workshop.

1. Cost-benefit analysis

Sugden, R. and Williams, A., *The Principles of Practical Cost-Benefit Analysis* (Oxford U.P. 1978)

* Bridger, G.A. and Winpenny, J.T., *Planning Development Projects* (ODA, 1983)

Little, I.M.D. and J. Mirlees, *Project Appraisal and Planning for Developing Countries* (Heinemann Educational Books, 1974) (More difficult)

United Nations, *Guidelines for Project Evaluation* (UN 1972) (More difficult)

2. Health Care

* Drummond, M.F., *Principles of Economic Appraisal in Health Care* (Oxford Medical Publications, OUP 1980

3. Environmental Economics

Pearce, D. et al, *Blueprint for a Green Economy* (Earthscan Publications Ltd. 1989) Chapters 4 to 6

4. Education

Blaug, M. Editor, *The Economic Value of Education* (Elgar Publishing Co. Ltd)

* Psacharopoulos, G. and Woodhall, M., *Education for Development: An Analysis of Investment Choices* (OUP for World Bank 1985)

* Gills, M. et al, *Economics of Development* 2nd edition (W.W.Norton & Co. Ltd. 1987) Chapters 5 and 9

Investing in Education

1. The situation

The World Conference on Education for All in 1990 firmly set the agenda for education throughout the decade. The Conference focused attention on the remarkable inequalities of provision in many countries, and the extent to which education systems had failed to meet the challenges inherent in the 1961 Addis Ababa resolution that 100 per cent primary education enrolment ratios would prevail by 1980.

This is not to say that donors and recipients wish to invest in basic education to the exclusion of other levels of education, since this would be patently absurd. On the contrary, there is continued evidence that many are deeply concerned about the quality of secondary and higher education, particularly the latter. The Commonwealth Higher Education Support Scheme, though based on essentially political rather than economic considerations, nevertheless provides an indication of the degree of concern that exists in relation to the management of universities in Africa and elsewhere and the maintenance of their general infrastructure.

But for the moment the general thrust is towards improving access to basic education (which encompasses both primary school and basic adult literacy/numeracy), finding ways to make it more cost-effective, and improving its quality. UNESCO's useful World Education Report, 1991, provides reminders, if we need them, that education remains in a perilously weakened state in many parts of the world. In 1990 gross enrolment ratios at secondary level for Sub Saharan Africa were 17%, and 38% for South Asia, compared with 99% in North America. In the 1980s expenditure per pupil in 26 African countries declined by an average of 33%. The survival rates in 1988 of children entering first level education between grades 1 and 4 were only 67% for Sub Saharan Africa, 55% for Latin America and the Caribbean, 65% for South Asia, and 78% for East Asia (pp.31-37).

These sobering figures underline the need to do something major to improve the situation at primary level, and among younger illiterate adults. The school system has to address the brutal fact that in Sub Saharan Africa under 50% on average of adults are literate, and only just over one-third of women have achieved literacy. Cold statistics like these do not adequately portray the huge waste of human talent resulting from repetition, failure, drop-out, illiteracy, and the consequent and subsequent inability of young people to be able to access services, facilities, forms of employment, rights, privileges, and other enabling structures which we take for granted but which are crucial to health, welfare and the quality of life.

2. A donor's perspectives

Virtually every analysis of the rate of return from basic education (certainly primary) suggests that investment at this level produces a high (often the highest) return. Moreover, in countries where there have been structural adjustment programmes which have not sufficiently addressed their adverse effects on the social sectors, it is primary school provision that has tended to be affected. UNESCO's figures indicate a general decline in teachers' salaries throughout the 1980s, with consequent loss of morale, often combined with the need to "moonlight" in order to maintain family income (though it is not only at primary level where this has occurred, and there are stories of university staff and civil servants in Uganda having to take as many as three different jobs in order to make ends meet).

Cost-benefit analysis has traditionally been employed by economists to determine whether it is worth putting more resources into educational facilities. Individuals make an informal cost-benefit analysis whenever they decide to invest in more education at the expense of earning more money; they assess that the additional training will produce promotion or some other opportunity. Similarly, governments and donors can look at the costs and benefits to society as a whole of investing taxpayers' money in educational improvement rather than in other forms of infrastructure or service.

Not that cost-benefit analysis has proved to be an exact science in relation to educational investment, as an unpublished research study recently commissioned by the ODA from Professor James Hough of Loughborough University indicates. CBA, as it is convenient to call it, is widely employed for the enumeration and evaluation of all the relevant costs and benefits of education, but there is a degree of unease over its use, largely because of the number of unquantifiable variables that crop up. One of the traditional weaknesses of CBA has been the assumption that everyone educated or trained will take up employment and that their likely earnings can be ascertainable, measurable and quantifiable.

This form of measurement becomes skewed when economists attempt to compare benefits (measured by earning power) from employment in the formal labour market with those derived from participation in the informal market. In addition, CBA has not yet derived any measure for the value of the education of women who do not enter employment, but whose skills and influence extend to their family.

Nevertheless, a substantial body of empirical study suggests that the rates of return to primary education are generally higher than for other levels of full-time education, both in terms of the social rate (ie, the usefulness of the education to the community at large) and the private rate (ie, the value of the education to the individual in enabling him/her to benefit personally). Not only that, but there is some evidence that investment in education produces as good a rate of return on capital invested as does investment in other sectors (health, etc). It is worth noting in passing that part-time education, because it usually does not interrupt work, delivers a high rate of return.

It is not the purpose of this paper to review the literature, nor to make a cast-iron case for educational investment. It is safe to assume a general consensus that investment in education, particularly at the basic level but also at secondary and higher levels, provides a significant return if it is targeted appropriately and effectively.

To sum up, effective investment in education is an important element in social, economic and political development as well as a consequence of it: improved economic conditions will in turn lead to a demand for social services, including education. The extension of education to all parts of the population is an important part of the development of health, population and environmental awareness, good government (through popular participation in political processes), and economic activity via the development of a skilled workforce. The questions are: "How much should be invested, and what is the best way of doing it?"

3. The nature of the response

The process by which money is allocated to one sector rather than another will vary considerably across aid agencies. In the case of the ODA, the main arbiter of allocation is the Country Review Paper, a major policy document produced biennially and updated in the alternating years (there is also a Country Objectives Paper of more limited scope for countries where the UK bilateral programme is relatively small). The paper is produced as a result of wide consultation within the ODA and with the UK representation in-country, is discussed formally by the ODA's top management, and finally submitted to the Minister for approval. It is an internal document and is never available publicly.

The paper outlines the rationale for UK investment, reviews the efforts of other donors, considers where the UK has a particular relative advantage, and examines the match between what is desirable and what can be achieved within existing or potential manpower resources. Naturally it takes as a starting-point the expressed priorities of the recipient. It should be remembered that the provision of technical cooperation (ie, manpower,consultancy, training) tends to be much more demanding of administrative resources per pound spent than capital aid (ie,the building of dams, power stations, roads, railways, etc) or programme aid.

To an extent sectoral allocations are part of an historical process, but the CRP provides an opportunity for policy makers to review the directions which advisers and programme managers have been taking during recent reviews. The paper also allows a review of allocations between sectors, and an examination of the extent to which interdisciplinarity is possible. At the present time discussions on the social sectors concentrate increasingly on population, health (including AIDS), and basic education, all within the context of poverty alleviation which is one of the ODA's main overall policy thrusts. Help for women is an important element. The Rio Conference will inevitably have given a new dimension to these discussions by focusing attention on major environmental issues as well as reaffirming the importance of basic education and adult literacy under Agenda 21.

4. Identification and appraisal criteria for donor support

Identification and appraisal of projects are normally what the ODA calls "core tasks", and are therefore performed by in-house professional advisers in combination with administrative colleagues ("desk officers"), advisers from other social sector disciplines and engineers (where appropriate), economists and the representatives of line ministries in the recipient country. The combination will vary from project to project according to the terms of reference of the mission and the likely nature of the follow-up.

The kinds of criteria which the team will have in mind are:

1. **Benefit:** how will the proposed intervention generally benefit the country's development? (This would normally be reflected in the "wider objectives" section of the project framework). What contribution will it make to the development of manpower, industry, health/environmental awareness, or the personal development of people in a way that will enable them to improve their condition?

2. **Costs:** will the economic benefits outweigh the costs? Will the proposed intervention lead to improved performance/facilities or other outcomes that represent a genuine degree of increased productivity? Or will it impose system and other costs that are unacceptable or unmanageable? Will it place a cost burden that outweighs the advantages long-term?

3. **Sustainability** (which is closely related to the above): will the proposals be viable in terms of the recipient government's capacity to maintain the work once the donor has withdrawn? Does it offer methodologies that are consistent with the general goals and philosophies of the system? Will its general approach be acceptable to those most closely involved and therefore implementable? Will institutions involved have the capacity to absorb and implement the proposed strategies? How can ownership and commitment by the recipient government be assured?

4. **Alternatives:** have all the alternative approaches been considered? Are there more cost-effective ways of achieving the objectives than those currently suggested? For example, is in-country (ICT) or third country (3CT) training an equally effective way of approaching staff

development as bringing people to Britain (UKT) for training? What combinations of UKT and ICT are possible and how will they affect the design of the project?

These considerations are reflected in the actual appraisals which appear in submissions to the ODA's Projects and Evaluation Committee when a major educational project is put forward for approval. Typical headings in the relevant part of the project document are:

Labour, inputs and services required (on the part of the recipient government)

Social and environmental appraisal (which looks at gender issues among others)

Economic justification. As well as technical appraisal this third element typically includes five sets of criteria.

(i) Does the project fit in with the recommendations of ODA's Education Sector Review for the country concerned and the broader reforms being undertaken and proposed for the education sector?

(ii) Does it promote or improve the sustainability achieved in an earlier project on which this particular project builds?

(iii) Are the project and post-project cost implications manageable for the recipient government?

(iv) Is the institutional capacity of the executing agents adequate to ensure sustainability?

(v) Is it the most cost effective means of achieving project objectives? Can the benefits be valued?

It will be seen that these questions, drawn from an annexe to the document dealing with the Tanzania English Language Teaching Support Project Final Phase, reflect exactly the questions asked in the paragraphs above. They take the proposal within a broad policy context, they look at the key issue of sustainability and cost/manpower burden, and they ask questions about alternatives.

5. A conclusion

It will be evident that while the above criteria offer a model for approaching the appraisal of education projects, the analysis will vary considerably from place to place.

The intervention will depend on a large variety of extraneous factors, beginning with the position of other donors (despite our desire to increase our basic education portfolio we have recently come across two countries where so many donors are already involved in the primary sector that there is no room for us, and we are instead considering a secondary level intervention).

It will obviously depend on the recipient's stated goals, though like other donors we are always free to reject these if we do not accept their validity or viability (in one case recently we declined to enter a literacy project, much as we wanted to, because we did not believe that the "top-down" methodology proposed was the right way to approach the problem and that our aid would consequently have been dissipated had we accepted.

It will reflect the UK's capacity to assist in the area chosen, and will often be in an area where we have particular strengths to offer.

It will include a careful analysis of the capacity of the recipient to accept and use the offered intervention. It will look for ways of helping both systems and networks of institutions to improve their overall capacity, which includes management, administration and research.

It will have considered (and rejected) the alternative solutions to the problem. It will take into account the contributions of other donors, and will, where possible, complement their interventions (for example by offering a technical cooperation element based on a World Bank capital project).

Most important, it will have considered the field management information of what is proposed and looked at how the project will be handled in the field, how responsibilities will be distributed and defined, and how much that will cost. This is important, since the cost of field management adds to the overall cost of the project and is consequently a burden on the amount of aid available to the recipient government. Field management is a significant opportunity cost.

6. The practical outcomes of all this

It will be apparent that tertiary level projects must be appraised very carefully indeed. With the high unit costs attaching to university education, projects aimed at this level should be demonstrably high priority and cost-efficient.

Likewise, the placing of long-term UK staff in the field in any project needs to be carefully examined.

Because UK training is an expensive option, its use must be carefully considered and its relative value examined against alternative forms of training.

Priority must be given to poverty-focused interventions and those that benefit girls and women.

Projects that improve efficiency and/or quality in sustainable ways are the only ones that will attract funding.

This does not mean that we will not support higher education projects, nor that we want to cut down the number of British staff in the field, nor that we want to reduce the numbers of trainees brought to the UK, nor that we want to penny-pinch on the costs of field management. On the contrary, all have their place in the order of things, and will continue to be seen as important. But they must be subjected to the kind of scrutiny that ensures that they represent the most justifiable strategies for approaching the kinds of major problem referred to in the opening paragraphs of this paper. Otherwise, how do we justify them?

Roger Iredale

Namibia Case Study

Introduction

Dunford criteria

1. Focus on national development with projects as a related element.

2. Focus on establishing justification markers, both quantitative and qualitative, in a systematic way.

Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) criteria

3. Focus on affordability.

4. Reference to language and cultural rights: Constitution of Namibia.

Suggested "Dunford" approach

A combination of brief presentations of national context and problem-solving tasks. With reference to 1., note may be taken of the evidence available of the perceived importance of investment in language and communication skills training.

Procedure

1. Introduction of overall Namibian national development context, with specific reference to language in education and public use; recent related documents; available data; ongoing projects; the June 1992 Language Conference and working group proposals. **Dick Chamberlain**

2. Introduction of perspectives on English language needs and development from independence (March 1990) to now; formal adult/non-formal and higher education. **Thelma Henderson**

3. Introduction to English in the public sector in Namibia. **Ros Hurst**

4. Introduction to case study task, in the context of a country shifting from Afrikaans lingua franca to English as the official language:

a. to assess the frequency of existing English language projects in the national development context;
b. to analyze conference proposals i) in relation to existing projects and ii) for new or expanded ones; to list these;
c. to summarize in what ways national resources and government budgeting should be balanced against donor support.

Namibia Case Study - Report of Group Discussions

When Namibia became independent in 1990, English was chosen as the official language in place of Afrikaans which had been used as the official language before independence. The decision to adopt English meant that it would be used as a medium of communication within Namibia in the public sector and in the private sector. In addition it would be used as a medium of international communication eg for diplomacy, trade and aid.

Because little attention had been paid to English before independence, most Namibians have very little competence in the language. This means a great deal of work has to be done before the change can be effectively implemented. There is, however, plenty of public support for the change and great impatience for it to occur.

In June 1992, a National Conference on the Implementation of the Language Policy was organised to acquaint people with the policy and the progress that had so far been made in implementing it, and to provide an opportunity for them to participate in making recommendations for the future. Twenty-two working groups were formed and their reports were summarised in a document entitled Preliminary Draft of Working Group Proposals.

This document was used as a basic source of information for the Namibian Case Study discussions at Dunford. The task of the groups was to consider the proposals and to identify important aspects for implementation. The groups reported:

1. that because so much work was being done in so many different sectors, it was important that there should be coordination at a very high level in the Ministry;

2. that in the formal system of education, it was important

    a. to strengthen the competence of the advisers and the inspectorate;
    b. to develop a career structure for teachers, which should include an additional layer, at BEd level, and should be accompanied by appropriate benefit packages;
    c. to study and lay down conditions of service for all education personnel and
    d. to provide training in the use of language across the curriculum for all teachers;

3. that community resources should be harnessed for the provision of premises eg for distance learning classes;

4. that private companies should be encouraged to invest in in-house teaching and training;

5. that the use of English should be promoted in the Public Services since English is to be used for public administration;

6. that research should be used as a component of the development process. It could, for instance, be used as a way of collecting information for baseline studies, for monitoring progress and for evaluating results in order to inform the continuing process of development;

7. that attention should be given to the promotion of Namibian languages and culture.

In the light of the policy guidelines produced by the Ministry of Education and Culture, it seemed likely that the following project areas might be identified for donor support:

1. Trainer training for English and other subject trainers.
2. Communication skills for the Public Service.
3. Secretarial training.
4. Local language awareness campaign and conference.
5. Community involvement in providing pre-school facilities.
6. Applied research in English and local languages.
7. Resource development particularly in the form of library support.
8. A series of placement and diagnostic tests for use at tertiary level.

The Case Study Groups were of the opinion that there were risks in attempting to achieve so much in such a short space of time. Other risks that were identified were related to:

1. the cost of adopting many new and sometimes very ambitious projects where the host country had to contribute a proportion of the cost from its own limited budget. In Namibia, the principle of 'affordability' is applied;

2. the extent of the management capacity. Those in positions of management do not always have management expertise. This may have adverse effects on the success of the project;

3. infrastructure capacity. Consideration must be given to the capacity of the infrastructure, the existence of school buildings, teachers' centres, teachers' accommodation etc to sustain an educational project;

4. staff. The staff who will take part in the project must be sufficient in number and appropriately qualified.

The risks in undertaking the project must be assessed. However, one of the greatest risks in the language policy implementation in Namibia is delay. This in itself can lead to civil unrest.

The cost benefit of ELT projects can be measured by the impact indicator approach.

Thelma Henderson

Measurement of ELT cost-benefit: impact indicator approach

1. Guidelines for measurement areas can be found in World Bank, UNDP and USAID reports, amongst other sources. To get down to some relatively simple measures requires, first:

- deciding what criteria you will use;
- getting baseline study data from appropriate data sources;
- getting on good terms with your data sources!
- planning your total measurement periods eg extending to 2/5 years post project - follow up and follow through is very important and should be built in more to all project designs and costings.

2. A study of major data sources globally (World Bank etc) suggests that for socio-economic CBA it is useful to compare income-before-training with some income-after. This means analysing job entry, promotion and unemployment: it also means having a new attitude to 'ELT wastage' since a multiplier effect socially and in terms of individual reward must include occupational mobility opportunities.

3. For physical resource measurement it may be useful to take on board the FQL concept - fundamental quality level - of institutional development, especially as it applies to schools. This can yield - once agreed with the host government, realistically - a yardstick against which to measure development eg

classroom increase
pupil/staff ratio against say 1-25;
books per pupil;
teacher resource materials;
school library/book boxes against total school numbers.

4. For measurement of the contribution of ELT to educational change, we could analyse areas such as:

- % extent of spread of compulsory English-as-a-subject exams;
- % extent of spread of compulsory English medium exams;
- % periods English per week;
- % increase in children/adults passing English;
- % increase of books in English in libraries, firms etc;
- % increase of English time on media;
- increase on focus of English in press.

While much of this has not specifically been measured for our purposes before, it is not a real problem, since:

1. data acquisition is easier than people think;
2. it requires a focused approach eg when you know what you are looking for, go for it!

But the measurement, and the data sources, must be rigorous and specific.

Dick Chamberlain

Kenya Case Study

The Communication Skills Project, Kenya (1988-1992)

Background Information on Kenya

In spite of a significant modern sector, Kenya is a poor country with limited natural resources already under stress from a rapidly growing population of 23.5 million. Political change has been rapid in the last year. Opposition parties have been legalised and multi-party elections are anticipated in early 1993.

Although Kenya's manufacturing capacity is high in relation to its African neighbours, investment has been on the low side. Foreign exchange earnings remain over-dependent on tourism and the three main export crops - tea, coffee and horticulture. Imports exceed exports by almost 2:1 and a serious balance of payments gap persists.

One of the problems that urgently needs to be addressed is the burden imposed by a large and inefficient public sector: the civil service suffers from acute over-staffing and inadequate performance incentives; the large number of parastatals fail to operate on the basis of commercial norms; and the regulating bodies frustrate entrepreneurial endeavour.. Public spending is high, growing and inadequately prioritised.

Since independence in 1962, Kenya has been well assisted by foreign aid donors, although some, notably the Danish, are at present reducing their programmes. In 1988 net aid receipts were 9.4% of GNP.

Support to Education/ELT/Communication Skills in the UK Aid Programme

Within the UK aid programme in recent years, considerable support has been given to the Kenyan education sector. Since the mid 80s the ODA has funded five projects at a total cost of £6,806,000.

However, the amount of investment in ELT projects is dropping. The two most recent projects, the Secondary English Language Project and the Communication Skills Project are both ending in July 1992 and there are no concrete plans to replace these projects with new ventures in the field of ELT. The only major new education project and one which has an ELT element is the Strengthening of Primary Education Project which is seen very much in terms of other more topical issues such as the educational status of those from disadvantaged backgrounds and the alleviation of the constraints they face in obtaining livelihoods.

There is a growing body of evidence that there is a serious need for more support in the field of ELT: the business sector, both public and private, is asking for help in the teaching of Business Communication Skills; the Communication Skills Units at the four public universities are being asked to provide courses on writing memos, letters and reports for the administrative staff in their institutions; and an increasing number of receiving institutions in Britain, Scandinavia, Canada and Australia, will no longer accept Kenyan post-graduate students before they have taken an EL test (eg IELTS).

The fact that access to education is largely through English and that success in obtaining employment thereafter is dependent upon a good grasp of the official language is somehow being lost or at least overlooked. Has, therefore, the provision of support to Kenya in the area of ELT (teaching, teacher training, communication skills in both academic and vocational contexts) become redundant?

Reasons for the Establishment of the Communication Skills Project

In 1985 the 8-4-4 educational system was introduced in Kenya at primary level. The new structure provided for eight years' primary education, four years' secondary and four years at university, whilst the content became more general and more practically oriented. By 1990, the new system had reached university level and approximately 10,000 students were admitted to the four public universities of Nairobi, Kenyatta, Egerton and Moi for the new programme.

The universities had been concerned for some time about reports of declining standards in the reading and writing of students before the advent of the 8-4-4 system to university level. One reason for their anxiety was undoubtedly the fact that the teaching of English Language and Literature had been combined into one subject at secondary level which allowed only a total of six hours per week. Another cause for concern was the elimination of the 6th Form which was regarded as a useful preparation for entrance to university. These factors convinced the universities of the need for a first year course that would ensure that the 8-4-4 students would have adequate language and study skills to be able to cope with their specialist subjects. As a result, the universities decided that one of the first year common-core courses, which were compulsory, should be devoted to the improving of students' language and study skills.

The Nature of the Communication Skills Course

The project team, which consisted of four ELTOs each of whom were based at one of the four universities, produced two rather different courses in the end, the Egerton Course and the British Council Course. The latter course, which was entitled A University Course in Academic Communication Skills, adopted a theme-based approach using an integrated study cycle for the practice of the skills. This course was used by three of the universities for the first year's teaching and included the teaching of library skills, study skills, reading and note-making skills, the interpretation of tables and graphs, listening and note-taking skills and writing skills. The themes which provided the content for the practice of these skills were the Environment, Health Risks, Modern Technology and Social and Economic Issues.

The Evaluation of the Course

The role of Kenyatta University in the project was to be responsible for testing and evaluation. A test was devised and administered by Kenyatta to students in Form 4 on a selection of secondary schools throughout the country to determine what particular problems students would be likely to encounter in their university studies. The results of this test together with the results of a needs analysis carried out by means of a questionnaire circulated to staff at the four universities provided the basis for the content of the Communication Skills Course.

As soon as the teaching of the course started an evaluation of the course materials was organised. An evaluation committee had been set up with a representative from each of the four universities to coordinate the arrangements and to analyse the results. The main purpose of the evaluation was to develop and improve the materials. A system of evaluation forms was developed for both students and teachers to fill in after each section of the course was completed. The format of the evaluation forms developed as more experience was acquired of the practical difficulties involved. The evaluation was both quantitative and qualitative: it was quantitative in that students were asked to select a number on a scale from 1 to 5 to show, for example, whether they felt the materials were not at all useful (5), reasonably useful (3) or very useful (1), and it was qualitative in that they were asked to make their own personal comments on the materials at the end.

The feedback from these results was fairly encouraging, in spite of the fact that many people were suggesting the course was not proving popular. Furthermore, the weaknesses of the course rapidly became apparent and it was possible to modify the course accordingly.

The Effects of the Project

It would be premature to assess the effects of the project at this stage. The Communication Skills staff have been working hard to establish the course and it will be some time before the impact on the standard of work at the universities can be accurately gauged. The second year of teaching has yet to be completed and support from the Communication Skills Project has now been withdrawn. There have, however, been some encouraging signs for the future of the CS programme in Kenya. Other departments have commented favourably on the work of the CS programme and at Moi University one department has even said that the 8-4-4 students have been submitting work of a higher standard that the 'A' level students. The CS department at Moi are now running specially requested courses in Effective Writing for Administrative Staff and a CS course for 3rd year students in the Faculty of Information Sciences. There are also plans to develop more specialised courses for 2nd and 3rd year students at some of the universities.

Gill Westaway
Peter Bint

Kenya Case Study - Report of Group Discussions

The Kenya Case Study considered two projects - the Communication Skills Project based in four Kenyan universities and the new British Council DTEO, which has been established to service increasing demands from the Kenyan business community in English for Business Purposes.

The presenters of the case study assigned tasks relating to evaluation and the results of the discussion groups are appended. In the course of the discussion, further issues were raised that were of more general interest to the conference's key issues and touched on the planning and implementation phases of projectisation. These latter issues will be discussed first.

In view of some of the issues discussed in relation to Kenya (and a number of the other conference case studies), it is the present rapporteur's view that the findings of the increasing and respectable literature on the implementation and management of change and on the evaluation of (ELT) educational projects are not yet fully informing the design and implementation of ELT projects by donors or providers. There do not seem to be close enough links between donors, providers (and 'field implementers' where the provider is a UK agency, such as the ODA) and recipients. There are clear examples of each constituency operating criteria for the measurement of project success, but ones not always made accessible to other constituents nor, on occasion, congruent with each other's. Also, project providers (or their 'field implementers') are not always able to take advantage of the experience gathered during parallel projects mounted elsewhere. It would seem to be important for a library of appropriate material to be established and catalogued on computer so that interested parties can be aware of and gain access to relevant material right from the design stage of a project. Such provision could reduce the current volume of 'wheel-reinventing'.

There are also some lessons from the Kenyan case study for the coordination/management of projects. It would seem to be a waste of resources, for example, to permit one of four participating universities to develop separate communication skills courses within the same project, unless such diversity was an agreed aim.

At the initial design stage of projects, there must be consideration of how a project is going to be evaluated overall or else opportunities may be lost, as in the Kenyan case, for gathering relevant baseline data. The influence of the presence of a project in an institution or educational system must also be carefully monitored. We are all aware that, despite best-expressed pre-implementation aims and objectives, the context and actual implementation of a project can lead to a necessary revision of aims and objectives. Such a possibility must always be acknowledged.

Lessons for Evaluation from Kenyan Projects

Group discussions highlighted the following issues emerging from consideration of the Kenyan projects:

- Though there was an impressive wealth of data collected on the CS (Communication Skills) projects, there was insufficient data collection beyond the period of the project itself, ie longitudinal data. Both could have been invaluable in making a more informed evaluation of the impact of the project.

- The collection of baseline or longitudinal data has additional financial implications for the costing of projects.

- A provisional and flexible outline of evaluation procedures ought to be built into project descriptions right from the beginning. Such an outline ought to take into account the value of, for example, collaborative, formative and summative evaluation features.

- The methodology of evaluation should take into account such possibilities as: pre/during/post tests; standardised tests; standardised or open interview techniques; various levels of formality and objectivity required of the data; self-assessment techniques for all levels of participants in a project.

- As regards evaluation data, the CS project might have elicited more varied data from a wider range of constituencies, eg students, CS staff, university lecturers and employers in, for example, the following areas:

    - dropout rates and reasons;
    - socio-economic and educational background;
    - subject knowledge (and changes in same);
    - attitude to CS/university etc;
    - a study of patterns of and changes in employment;
    - measurement of study skills improvements;
    - impact of CS on the degree;
    - impact of the new university project on the economy.

The BC (British Council) project might similarly elicit more varied data from its teaching staff, client students and a range of interests within their client employers (eg from training officers, line managers etc) in, for example, the following areas:

- measures of (increased) on-the-job effectiveness and efficiency: for example, the quality of correspondence and telephone skills; less use of translators; response time; volume of complaints etc;
- more 'macro' consideration of the course on the industry than the wider economy.

James Hutton

Zimbabwe Case Study

Preamble

The wider objectives of the project are the development of the communication skills in English of both secondary school teachers across the curriculum and of secondary school leavers. The skills required by the former group are those needed for improved teaching across the curriculum, and by the latter group those needed for employment in commerce, industry and the public sector, and for further and higher education.

The case study tasks focus on:
- the processes by which the proposed project outcomes can provide for the fulfilment of the wider objectives, and how achievements at any stage in these processes might contribute to Zimbabwe's socio-economic development;
- the pilot instruments designed to provide base-line data by appraising present levels of communication skills of teachers and by analyzing the nature of present patterns of classroom interaction;
- systems for longer term project evaluation which might demonstrate the link between investment in communication skills and socio-economic development.

Background

Zimbabwe is similar in size to the reunited Germany, but has a population of only approximately 12 million. The rural areas, which are still the home of about 70% of this figure, often lack electricity and assured water supplies, and schools in these areas suffer from a rapid turnover of teachers.

English is used as the medium of instruction from Grade 3 of primary education onwards, and in many urban schools from Grade 1. Since Zimbabwe's independence in 1980 the availability of education has expanded very rapidly, particularly at secondary level with an increase in student numbers at this level from 66,215 at independence to 708,000 in 1990. Pass rates in examinations at all stages have shown a steady and substantial decline, particularly in English and Mathematics, and it is felt that the figures reflect an unacceptable lowering of standards.

Observation of teachers has shown that teacher-centred classes predominate and that there is a general inability to communicate other than through teacher talk often of a substantially unstructured nature. Prior to the project, development of classroom communication skills was not a particular focus of methodology courses at teacher training college, and these courses in turn often had far lower status than subject content courses and theory of education courses.

Although unemployment levels in Zimbabwe were high, the Confederation of Zimbabwean Industry reported in 1992 a 75,000 shortfall of skilled workers in manufacturing and a worse situation in the civil service and parastatal sectors.

Presentation

Project outcomes and the project framework format

The standard format of Project Framework comprises a grid which expresses desired project outcomes at three levels: Outputs, Immediate Objectives and Wider Objectives. This format does not fully represent the relationships between outcomes at the three levels or the processes which link these outcomes. It also omits many possible intermediate enabling

Appendix 1

Communication Skills in Teacher Education

CS = communication skills

Wider Objectives

School leavers equipped with the communicative skills needed for employment in commerce, industry and the public sector, and for further and higher education.

Secondary teachers across the curriculum with improved CS.

School leavers with the communicative skills in English needed for employment in commerce, industry and the public sector, and for further and higher education in the medium of English.

Secondary teachers with improved CS.

Immediate Objectives

Improved teaching proficiency of new college-trained teachers of English.

Improved classroom CS across the curriculum.

Develop the use of interactive methodology by new college-trained teachers across the curriculum.

Improve the study skills of student teachers.

Train corps of teacher educators for sustainability of project developments.

Design and introduce new curricula and materials for specialist English so that teachers can equip pupils with language skills needed for effective learning in the medium of English.

Design and introduce new curricula and materials for classroom CS so that teachers can teach effectively across the curriculum.

Assist specialist departments to develop appropriate communicative methodologies.

Develop distance education modules for study during school placement.

Prepare and introduce guidelines and instruments for evaluating student performance in CS.

Train corps of teacher educators capable of sustaining new approaches.

Outputs

Improved syllabus, teaching methods, materials and means of assessment for main subject English.

Improved components of syllabuses, teaching methods, materials and means of assessment for classroom CS across the curriculum.

Improved study skills syllabuses, teaching methods, materials and means of assessment.

Improve distance education materials and for support of students during teaching practice.

Prepare and introduce instruments for evaluating student performance in classroom CS and in interactive methodology.

College teaching staff across the curriculum with improved skills in the development of classroom CS, interactive methodology and teaching practice supervision.

College main subject English staff with improved teaching skills.

College libraries updated in fields of English teaching, methodology and classroom CS.

Revised syllabuses for secondary teachers of English, including reform of assessment and examination procedures.

New syllabuses for classroom CS for teachers of other subjects, with core and subject specialist components including teaching/study and assessment materials.

Distance education materials to support above during the trainees' year on teaching practice.

A cadre of college personnel with appropriate training in teacher education and in distance education design and evaluation.

All college personnel with awareness in classroom CS.

College reference materials up to date.

objectives which are essential to the production of the outputs and to the achievement of the immediate and wider objectives. A more accurate representation of the relationships and the processes linking them would be a flow-chart similar to that showing 'levels of effect' as proposed by Chambers and Erith (1990). Such a flow chart will indicate project outcomes or 'effects' at a greater number of levels, than a grid format and allow for the identification of outcomes which may contribute to national development and/or the fulfilment of ODA's 'main priorities'. In Task 1 participants are asked to produce such a flow chart for the Project and to indicate how outcomes at any stage relate to national development and ODA priorities and how these outcomes might lend themselves to measurement in economic terms.

The analysis of teacher talk and classroom interaction

The extent to which effective secondary education in Zimbabwe depends on classroom communication skills was underlined by considering a 1991 UNESCO study of reading performance in Zimbabwean primary schools, which concluded that 62% of learners fail to achieve 'minimum' standards and 87% fail to achieve 'desirable' standards. If students are not equipped to learn from books, then effective classroom learning is crucial. However,this does raise the question of how 'communication skills' is defined and, so far as the learners are concerned, how far if at all it can be decoupled from 'language skills'. While putting resources into 'classroom communication skills' is the right strategy, we must beware of two dangers: the first is the 'ESP heresy' that 'communication skills' can compensate for deficient basic language competence: the second is the assumption that the effectiveness of classroom interaction can be adequately judged by analysis of the teacher's communicative competence - the effectiveness of learning depends equally on the learner's communication skills. With these considerations in mind, participants were asked to assess the Project's classroom observation and evaluation schedules in terms of their effectiveness (for recording what needs to be recorded and judging what needs to be judged) and their efficiency (in terms of useability by non specialists in the classroom, accessibility to analysis, and the utility of analysis).

Longer term project evaluation

The evaluation of a project's achievements in terms of its contribution to socio-economic development will certainly require a time-scale beyond the lifetime of the project itself. It is, thus, likely to require the involvement of people outside the institutions at which the project is based. In Zimbabwe there are separate Ministries of Education and Culture and of Higher Education. The project itself is based in the Teachers Colleges, which are the responsibility of the latter ministry. The benefits of the project, however, should extend beyond the Teachers Colleges to involve personnel of both ministries and of the workplace. In Task 3, participants are asked to consider organograms of the two ministries and to devise a system for the longer term evaluation of the project indicating which personnel from each ministry should be involved and the form such involvement should take.

Stuart Greenhalgh

References

Chambers F. and Erith P. "On justifying and evaluating aid-based ELT" *ELT Journal* Volume 44/2 April 1990 O.U.P.

Appendix 2

Class-room language activity analysis – version 1

Date
Form
Teacher (name/qualification)
Subject

Chalkboard
Books
Class size

Time
Class

Topic

Writing materials
Other aids
Layout sketch

Activity	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
T explains																			
T demonstrates																			
T asks open Qs																			
T asks closed Qs																			
T gives feedback																			
T instructs																			
T models (Eng/ language Shona)																			
T works with groups/individuals																			
T checks understanding																			
T reads aloud																			
T writes on c/b																			
T dictates																			
P answers Qs																			
P speaks other																			
P reads silent																			
P reads aloud																			
P writes																			
P other activity																			
Other activity																			

Appendix 3

Activity	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
T explains																				
T demonstrates																				
T asks open Qs																				
T asks closed Qs																				
T gives feedback																				
T instructs																				
T models (English/ language Shona)																				
T works with groups/individuals																				
T checks understanding																				
T reads aloud																				
T writes on c/b																				
T dictates																				
T other																				
P listens																				
P answers Qs																				
P asks Qs																				
P speaks other																				
P reads silent																				
P takes dictn																				
P copies c/b																				
P confirms udstg																				
Ps work in grps																				
P writes																				
P reads out ansrs																				
P reads silent																				
P other																				

Appendix 4

Schedule for assessing class-room communication skills: categories and criteria

	0	2	4
1 Language			
1.1 Voice – audibility	Frequently inaudible	Sometimes inaudible	Consistently audible
1.2 Voice – variation	No variation	Some variation	Good use of variation
1.3 Intelligibility – pronunciation	Frequent errors leading to communication breakdown	Some errors causing occasional communication breakdown	A few non-standard features but not impeding communication
1.4 Intelligibility – stress/intonation	Poor: constant effort needed to interpret	Non-standard features mean that some effort needed	Effective: no undue effort required
1.5 Grammar – error level	Frequent leading to communication breakdown	Some, leading to occasional communication breakdown	Some non-standard features but communication not impeded
1.6 Grammar – sentence structure/complexity	Over-complex	Sometimes too complex, but mostly comprehensible	Clear
1.7 Lexis – choice	Pitched at wrong level	Some instances of inappropriate lexis	Almost always appropriate
1.8 Lexis – elucidation	No attempt made	Some attempt made, but not ve/consistent	Key items well explained
2 Pedagogy			
2.1 Questioning – order/balance	No logical sequence or variation	Some sense of sequence/variation	Logically sequenced and varied
2.2 Questioning – prompting	None	Some, but not consistent	Good
2.3 Questioning – think time	Very short	Some, but not enough	Sufficient
2.4 Questioning – teaching/testing	Used for testing recall only	Some teaching questions used, but not consistent	Used for teaching/testing as appropriate
2.5 Explaining – content	Inappropriate and unplanned	Not completely appropriate; some signs of planning	Appropriate and planned
2.6 Explaining – structure	Unclear: not logical	Some attempt, but not effective	Clear and logical
2.7 Explaining – signalling	None	Some, but not consistent	Clear and explicit

	0	2	4
2.8 Explaining – clarification	None	Insufficient/limited range of techniques	Appropriate, with use of different techniques
2.9 Discussions – stucture	Unstructured	Attempt at structuring but not always successful	Clearly structured
2.10 Discussions – purpose	No explicit purpose; communication breakdown	Some sense of purpose but not always clear	Clearly defined purpose
2.11 Demonstrations – planning	Not planned	Some sense of planning but not clear/consistent	Well planned
2.12 Demonstrations – management	Poorly managed	Attempted, but not consistent	Well managed
2.13 Reading activities	Not used/very limited scope/no awareness of reading for learning	Used, but limited scope/limited learning potential	Well used/interesting activities/ clear learning objectives
2.14 Writing activities	Not used/very limited scope/no awareness of learning through writing	Used, but limited scope/limited learning potential/not very creative	Well used/interesting activities/ clear learning objectives/ creativity fostered
2.15 Lesson boundaries/transitions	Not clear/poorly managed	Not consistently clear/well managed	Clear/well managed
2.16 Class-room procedures	No clear procedures for organizing learning	Some attempt to establish but not always effective	Clear procedures for organizing learning
2.17 Instructions	Unclear, leading to pupil confusion	Not completely clear; reiteration necessary	Very clear and effective
2.18 Checking understanding – consistency	Not done	Not used consistently	Used well
2.19 Checking understanding – quality	Very superficial	Some attempt, but not very thorough	Careful and thorough
2.20 Responsiveness – praise	Not used	Not used consistently	Used well
2.21 Responsiveness – responding	No attempt made	Some responses, but not good/not consistent	Responds well to pupils' contributions
2.22 Responsiveness – listening	Not listening	Some, but not consistent	Listens well
3 Media			
3.1 Body langauage – facial expression	Not used	Used, but not very effectively	Used effectively
3.2 Body language – gesture	Not used	Used, but not very effectively	Used effectively

	0	2	4
3.3 Body language – posture	Hindering communication	Not consistently supporting communication	Supporting communication
3.4 Visual material – quality	Poor/not used, even though appropriate	Lacking clarity/impact	Good and clear
3.5 Visual material – appropriateness	Inappropriate	Not entirely appropriate for lesson objectives/class	Appropriate
3.6 Visual material – manipulation	Awkward and time-consuming	Some awkwardness; not very efficient	Good/efficient
3.7 Chalkboard writing – organization	Unplanned; unclear	Some evidence of planning but lacking clarity	Well planned and clear
3.8 Chalkboard writing – legibility/accuracy	Frequent illegibility/innaccuracy	Some illegibility/inaccuracy	Consistently legible/accurate
3.9 Chalkboard writing – speed	Laborious	Not entirely efficient	Efficient
3.10 Chalkboard writing – emphasis	Unsystematic/not used	Used, but not completely systematic	Used systematically
4 Communicative orientation			
4.1 Pupil involvement	Few	About half	Almost all
4.2 Use of names	None	Sometimes	Frequent
4.3 Balance of communication	Totally teacher-dominated	Some pupil participation, but not enough	Good balance
4.4 Pair/groupwork	Not used even though appropriate	Used, but not enough/not effective	Used well
4.5 Pupils' language use	Not fostered	Some attempts to foster	Fostered well

Zimbabwe Case Study

Report of Group Discussions

As in many of the case studies there were two agendas at work here, the agenda of those concerned with the project which was the subject of the case study and the wider agenda of the Dunford Seminar itself. As it happened, in this case study each of the two tasks we were presented with illustrated respectively each of the two agendas.

An additional item was placed on both agendas by Jim Morrison in his presentation, which addressed the question of the definition of the term communication skills, which appears in the title of this particular project and as part of the overall agenda. From the discussions two important points emerged concerning this question. First, it was observed that communication skills could be code for language skills, thus returning to the question which Jim Morrison raised and which we never really had the chance to address, namely whether we are concerned with a communication skills problem in the wider sense or whether we are concerned with a more specific language problem. The second observation to emerge was that the problem the project was trying to address was caused by a combination of deficient language and communication skills on the part of the teachers and deficient language and communication skills on the part of the learners. In addressing only the learners the project was not taking into account the interactional nature of communication and the fact that teaching and learning also takes place as the result of interaction. It was interesting to note that the Kenya Project addressed the learners while the Zimbabwe Project addressed the teachers.

One of the tasks was to assess an observation schedule and a teacher assessment schedule being used by the project. For the observation schedule it was generally felt that the second version was better than the first, that it described well what happened in a lesson, that it was usable and that it would be useful for the project in gathering baseline data. It could also be used in a variety of ways in in-service teacher training for consciousness-raising. It was also felt, however, that it was rather teacher-centred. The assessment schedule was felt to be difficult to use. It would give little idea of what teachers did in a lesson and thus could not provide ideas for specific help. Some categories were too wide, some too narrow. In general it was felt that the organization and structure of a lesson were not adequately captured by either instrument and the question of the interactional nature of classroom communication skills was not really addressed.

The other task was to construct a flow chart from the project framework and it was this that shed interesting light on some of the main seminar issues. From the chart produced by one of the groups the scope of the accountability and measurability of ELT professionals became clear. Up to a certain level of objectives ELT professionals could measure the impact and the effectiveness of their action quite clearly in their own terms. But going beyond this to consider wider objectives (eg meeting employers' needs, measuring the impact on the economy and the contribution to national development, etc) meant going beyond purely ELT considerations and thus collaborating with evaluators from other fields (eg economics) representing the wider interests of the host country and the aid donor.

To construct its flow chart, another group cut up the project framework and tried to arrange the resulting small boxes into a flow chart. This proved relatively straightforward, but what was most revealing was that once the various immediate objectives and the outputs had been cut out it was impossible to tell from what column they had come. In other words, it was no longer possible to separate an immediate objective from an output. In the flowchart these tend to cluster together. Clearly this raises serious questions about the validity of such divisions and of such a project framework. It also raises doubts about the validity of a linear model with inputs at one end and outputs at the other. This can now be clearly seen for the process/product model that it is, with the product being measured at the end ofthe process. It is now generally acknowledged that things are not so simple, and this example shows clearly that such a model relies on artificial divisions which pose many problems of interpretation.

A clear lesson to emerge was that ELT professionals need to talk with and collaborate with professionals from other fields in justifying their work and assessing its impact. Those who feel that their courses in TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) are threatened could profitably contemplate courses in TWSOL (Teaching Worldbankspeak to Speakers of Other Languages) or even in TODASOL (Teaching ODA speak to Speakers of Other Languages).

David Taylor

Hungary Case Study

The Eastern/Central European Context

The English Language Teacher Supply Project (ELTSUP) is one of the largest of the 30 odd projects that have been set up in eastern and central Europe (ECE) since April 1991. The projects are the result of the additional recurrent grant in aid of £5 million received from the diplomatic wing of the FCO at the beginning of the same financial year. Projects were initiated after consultations between the Council, ministries of education and representatives of key institutions that took place between the latter part of 1990 and early 1991. Broadly speaking, project designs covered the areas of pre- and in-service teacher training, including the retraining of former teachers of Russian, the teaching of English for key groups (ESP), the promotion of British Studies and English by radio and TV, and the development of English medium and dual language schools. These programmes are supported through a network of resource centres and access to the advisory services of the UK ELT examining boards.

Projects, which are all managed in-country, are designed to respond flexibly to changing needs. They were initially established in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania and the former Yugoslavia. During the first year of activity additional projects have been initiated in Albania, the Baltic states, Russia and Ukraine. There are likely to be further developments in ELT project activity in other republics of the Former Soviet Union (FSU) during 1993.

Against this background, English Language Division offers a support service to project managers. Typically this involves assistance with evaluation and monitoring, recruitment, tendering and general contact with the UK ELT constituency. ELD also manages the English Language Teaching Contacts Scheme (ELTECS) which seeks to place key professionals in ECE in contact with each other and with appropriate specialists and experts in Britain and the rest of western Europe.

Year 1 of the ECE ELT Projects programme was a heady time, with 18 resource centres established, over 60 staff recruited in the UK to work on the projects and considerable expansion of the project network. Over the next four years or so we are going to need to carefully monitor not only the visible and quantifiable impact made by the projects but also ensure that what we are offering conforms to the highest professional standards possible. For this reason ELD together with Thames Valley University (TVU) has initiated a Project Development Support Scheme (PRODESS) to assist managers and coordinators with support as needed to ensure that they are able to derive the maximum professional benefit from their projects. As I think we shall see from today's case-study presentations, one of the greatest benefits that I have been able to observe during the first year is the increasing sense of working as part of a team both in the UK and in-country, as well as a sense of dynamism, enthusiasm and commitment that pervades the approach of all who are involved in ECE Project work.

Mike Potter

English Language Teacher Supply Programme (ELTSUP)

The decision to bring to an end the compulsory learning of Russian in primary and secondary schools and to provide students with a choice of languages has resulted in a number of challenges for the system, not least an enormous shortfall in foreign language teachers, particularly English. ELTSUP aims to support and complement the efforts of a number of institutions in establishing accelerated and more practically-oriented teacher education programmes to fill this gap. The first such programme began in 1990 at Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest. It was joined by the Universities of Debrecen, Pécs, Veszprém and Szeged in 1991. From 1992, ELTSUP will extend to four Teacher Training Colleges running the new-style three-year programme: in Szombathely, Eger, Nyíregyháza and Szeged. ELTSUP support includes provision of personnel, equipment and books, consultancies, and UK and in-country training. Another major aim of the project is to help teacher-trainers to build networks, both in Hungary and internationally.

One characteristic of ELTSUP is its flexibility: it has been described as a "process project". The now traditional project framework was abandoned early on because it did not allow for major contextual changes. Unlike ODA-funded projects, the British Council's "new money" (and hence the ELTSUP budget) is managed from the ELO's desk in Budapest, and "rapid response" - a dream for many - is the name of the game here. Another strength of ELTSUP is its transparency and considerable 'local ownership', ensured largely through assertiveness on the Hungarian side and sensitive management on the British. (It is of relevance here that the ELO has considerable local knowledge, extensive professional contacts and excellent Hungarian, due to years spent working as a university 'lektor'.)

The wider context for ELTSUP can be seen from Appendix 1: Ministry of Culture and Education/British Council ELT Strategy.

ELTSUP and the Centre for English Teacher Training, Budapest: a worm's eye view of a project

Brief introduction to CETT

The Center for English Teacher-Training (CETT) was established in 1990 to pilot the three-year teacher-training programme. Now in its third year, CETT has a full complement of students - some 300. The staff (28 academic and 7 support) represent the cream of the profession in Hungary and are unbelievably committed given the poor economic position of teachers (necessitating second and even third jobs). CETT stands for adopting the very best of theory and practice in ELT and teacher-training.

Some of the focuses of our activity are:

- Curriculum development: the three-year B.Ed. is now being piloted in full and the 'final' document will be available by September 1993. The programme is characterised by its focus on the classroom;
- Test of Language Competence (TOLC): a 'teacherly' language proficiency exam being developed under the guidance of Lancaster University. This is the first home-grown, fully validated language exam in Hungary;
- Self-access Centre: this is being set up in cooperation with Bell School Cambridge;
- Co-Trainer Training (COTT): a programme of skills development and follow-up support to school-based teachers identified to support third-year students in their full-year Teaching Experience period;
- Staff development programme consisting of weekly professional meetings, thrice-yearly INSET weeks, courses and attachments abroad, conference participation (home and abroad);
- Development of M.Ed. in ELT: hopefully on-line by 1993/4;
- Commitment to evaluation: examples of experiments are: students evaluate CETT teachers, COTs, TOLC, the curriculum (also evaluated by staff and COTs), and - in some experimental cases - themselves (for course grades); Teaching Experience grades will be arrived at cooperatively by 'examiners', COTs and trainees; the third-year thesis is the culmination of a classroom-based investigative research project i.e. trainees evaluating an

aspect of their own classrooms. CETT will be buying into Thames Valley University's evaluation support scheme (PRODESS - more later) to develop this area of activity.

CETT benefits from ELTSUP in the following ways:

- The project provided (and continues to provide) essential 'kick- start' resources, namely two members of staff (assistant director and outreach coordinator), books and equipment, in-country and UK courses (including an M.Ed. for a key staff member);
- The Ministry promised enhanced salaries for three-year-programme staff when the project was drawn up. However, inflation has now reduced the value of this enhancement considerably;
- ELTSUP provides a framework for networking amongst the three- year programmes, a sense of cohesion for the sector.

Working-group tasks

Four major issues concern me at present (and in the light of this symposium):

1. Management of change: What are the implications for project design where a number of major changes are happening very quickly (and you feel like you're sitting atop a rather frisky racehorse...)? And is this sustainable?
2. Where an institution's development is being supported by a number of funding agencies, can the impact of one funder's project be measured?
3. What are the implications for project design and implementation of bringing diverse institutions under one project umbrella?
4. (An ancient one, but ...) Can the investment in teacher training be justified when teaching remains, in financial terms, a decidedly unattractive proposition?

The groups were asked to consider these issues - in particular the first two - bearing in mind ODA values (probably/possibly shared by FCO) and the features of our context which create and/or contribute to these issues, including:

- The complex network of external funders supporting CETT in addition to, and (in financial terms) far more than the British Council - namely World Bank, PHARE, Tempus, Peace Corps, USIS, Soros;
- The dynamic of change: We are attempting a huge task and setting for ourselves very high professional standards in many areas of activity beyond teaching. This in the context of staff needing to devote energy to earning a reasonable living through other jobs while still giving some 25 hours weekly of their time to CETT (most university teachers spend the requisite 8 teaching hours in their institutions and no more). We risk stress, tiredness, frustration and underperformance. It would seem wise to slow down, yet we're driven on by the 'now-or-never' syndrome: the donors are here today and may well be gone tomorrow.

The unknowns and incalculables of, for example:

- donor priorities over time;
- changes in educational policy in newly-emergent Hungary;
- fast-changing sociolinguistic profile of English;
- a University giving itself a 'shake-up', leading (eg) possibly to a merger with (or perhaps swallowing-up by) the 'traditional ' English department.

Tensions are created, but the advantages to be gained from this momentum must also not be forgotten. Resource packs containing project documents, reports of ELTSUP steering meetings, the CETT curriculum, CETT staff development plan, funding applications, COTT materials, CETT brochures, etc. were provided for each group.

Joy Griffiths

Project Development Support Scheme (PRODESS)

The Role of Evaluation

ELT projects are being called into question over the contribution that they make to development. The issue of whether they give value for money is not new, but has become a major focus. Evaluation of cost-effectiveness and socio-economic impact in other kinds of projects, such as civil engineering, relies on quantitative measures. However, there are problems for ELT projects being measured in this way, since, for example, the time-scale for an ELT project achieving its desired impact may be longer than the life-time of the project. Many of those involved in ELT would prefer to see qualitative measures being used (though not exclusively) in assessing how worthwhile a project is, but an explicit relationship has yet to be established between qualitative and economic measures.

In order to achieve quality projects have to conform to a number of issues, both managerial and academic. By definition projects have to cope with political issues such as the management of the change they seek to produce; they have to create wide ownership for the innovation, and produce cohesion among groups that may not be used to working together; and they have to publicise what they are doing. On the academic side they have to develop new programmes and assess their output, as well as assuring their capacity for sustained development beyond the lifetime of the project.

In order to deal explicitly with such issues, project members need to adopt an appropriate management style, and to make use of evaluation as both a tool of management and of development. Evaluation is not simply a tool of external, inspectorial monitoring using a framework of aims. Evaluation can also be participatory, internal and done for development: formative evaluation. This may serve both academic and managerial needs. It is this kind of evaluation that the Project Development Support Scheme aims to help members of ECE Projects implement. It will help them develop an independent view within the context of the project, focused on specific issues, but providing information for decision-making and action. Carrying out such evaluation will require them to specify some of the quality the project is meant to achieve.

Dermot F Murphy

Appendix 1

Ministry of Culture and Education: British Council ELT strategy

Objectives	Projects activity	Inputs	Outputs/performance
● Overall to ensure Hungary has access, through English, to Western European systems, markets and expertise; ● Specifically to ensure that the programme of teacher training launched in 1991 is fully effective, not only by producing well-trained teachers of English but ensuring that the sector they will work in is able to make full use of them; ● To ensure all aspects of English teacher training and development are well targeted and given appropriate support in terms of access to books. materials and specialist training; ● To ensure the Hungarian ELT profession is able to cope with the specialist needs of the Hungarian professional and business sectors.	● ELTSUP support to three-year teacher training programmes; ● Lower primary teacher training project to four primary teacher training programmes; ● Teacher/assistant supply to support teaching in strategy schools and institutions; ● British studies project to support course development in all EL sectors, especially university departments of English; ● Service English project to raise professional status of ESP; ● Resource centres to ensure materials support to above regional centres; ● CXP training opportunities both in-country and UK to strategy schools.	● See ELTSUP project document listing Hungarian and British Inputs, BC., F.K.; ● Hungarian coverage of local salary, accommodation for British teachers in TTCs, British Studies posts, service English sector and school sector, F.K.; ● British supply of appropriately qualified personnel and coverage of all involved UK costs, BC, EEP, CBEVE; ● British supply of training personnel for both in-country and UK training and coverage of all UK costs and fares for British experts, BC; ● Hungarian coverage of international airfares for trainees to UK and in-country training costs, F.M.; ● Hungarian provision of premises, staff and running costs for resource bases, F.K.E.; ● British supply of books, materials, hardware and software for resource bases, BC.	● Numbers of trained teachers graduating from programmes supported by strategy teaching in state sector; ● Numbers of schools capable of offering English in the curriculum, especially at primary level; ● Numbers of school leavers able to operate at intermediate level, in English; ● Numbers of undergraduates able to embark on specialist English course; ● Usage of resource bases in terms of materials exploitation and numbers in INSET events held; ● Regional EL events based on regional centres; ● Numbers of links developing between British and Hungarian institutions working within the strategy.

Hungary Case Study - Report of Group Discussions

1. Management of change: What are the implications for project design where a number of changes are happening quickly?

a) Need to identify realistic objectives specified with open time limitations ie be practical. (The 'process project' allows for this.)

b) Essential to have an efficient system of documentation gathering, storage and retrieval (the latter is usually problematic) - a good system at the outset will save time later on.

c) Have different systems of evaluation to allow for change in criteria and departure from the initial goals of the project. (Otherwise the project can be forced into unwelcome action because it is driven by the evaluation format.)

d) Imperative to step back from the frenzied activity (a week away in the sun?) and look hard at management, long-term issues, training of national colleagues for sustainability, etc.

e) Value of 'local' management of projects, facilitating a sense of continuity and constancy rather than the classic JIJO syndrome (jet-in-jet-out, for the uninitiated!).

f) Value of good local knowledge on the part of the project manager.

g) Clearly identify risks to avoid backlash. Some of the risks identified in the CETT context are:

- Potential risk from the 'traditional' English department
BUT currently there is cooperation.
- Enhanced salaries are not guaranteed
BUT the economy forecast is good.
- Huge financial incomes could result in poorly thought-out expenditure
BUT no evidence of this happening yet.

2. Where an institution's development is being supported by a number of funding agencies, can the impact of one funder's project be measured?

a) It is extremely difficult to separate the impact of different donor contributions. Potentially, each contribution benefits others. How can the synergy created by measured (or indeed planned for)? Even where donors' aims differ, perhaps one donor's aims could not be achieved without the other's? Maybe an overall evaluation could identify key areas which contribute to overall success, and then an analysis made of who contributed what?

b) No - impact of other projects on individual/team morale
(positive or negative)
increase in experience
breaking new ground
work pressure
creating constant change is probably too
complex for evaluation.

c) A more straightforward answer to the question is: Yes, if clear objectives are identified and if there are clear Terms of Reference.

d) Again: Yes, if a notional percentage of contribution of other projects is calculated.

e) Perhaps if the notion of seed-corn (kickstart) funding is acknowledged, the acquisition of other funding can in itself be viewed as impact (especially if this was envisaged at the project design stage).

3. Evaluating the impact of the individual on the project: this arose out of the discussion of kickstart funding, in particular the provision of key personnel to an institution.

Issues raised were:

a) Is it possible to measure (and cost) an individual's influence on attracting funding?

b) Need for job description to match the focus of work required for any stage of the project i.e.
initiator
sustainer
evaluator
leader.

c) Need for appraisal procedure to enable individual to identify achievements and forthcoming work priorities.

Benefits: establishes (introduces?) "good working practices";
sustains the project;
leads to economic benefit (more efficient use of individual's working time).

Ros Hurst

Poland Case Study

English for Management Advisory Service

Introduction

Modern political thinking in Poland is moulded by the country's experiences through the Second World War and by the rise and fall of the Communist Party over the 44 years until 1989. In the 1970s, economic growth, funded by loans from the West, was followed by growing dissatisfaction as mismanagement of the economy led to increases in food prices. Strikes in Gdansk in July/August 1980, triggered off by the dismissal of a worker for belonging to an illegal trade union, led to the creation of the Solidarity movement. The 1980s saw the disappearance of the last vestiges of support for the ruling Communist Party and the introduction of the Solidarity movement and newly-formed or resurrected political parties into government.

After initial chaos and hyper-inflation, the freed economy has settled down somewhat, but a combination of circumstances which Poland could well do without does not bode well for the future. Twenty-eight political parties in the Sejm means endless coalitions; the re-unification of Germany and the disintegration of the former Soviet Union represents a loss of potential export markets; Poles are faced with Western European prices in the shops but have Eastern European salaries in their pockets. Unemployment stands at 12.3% of the workforce.

Know-How Fund (KHF) For Poland

The English for Management Advisory Service (EMAS) receives its funding from the British Government's Know-How Fund for Poland which was set up in 1989. The Know-How Fund is managed by the Joint Assistance Unit within the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO). Its central objective is to help with advice and expertise to assist Poland to move towards democracy and a free market economy. It has a total budget of £50 million, of which £1.25 million has been earmarked for EMAS over five years. EMAS supports other KHF funded projects, in particular the Regional Management Centres, which are management training initiatives being developed with the help of linked consortia in the UK. The aims of the four Management Centres are to expose existing institutions to Western education, training programmes and teaching methodology, to encourage the development of new institutions, and to provide experience of modern management methods in business and industry and for those starting their own businesses.

English for Management Advisory Service

The immediate objective of EMAS is to improve the professional communication skills in English of the business community in Poland through the establishment of a sustainable teacher training and Business English advisory programme. The project framework is identical in form to that used in ODA projects in the developing world. It was initially staffed by three ELTO-type contract personnel: a Director, responsible for overall planning and co-ordination of the project; an Assistant Director, responsible for planning and implementing the training programme; and a Resource Centre Manager whose task over the one year life of the post would be to set up a working Resource Centre and means for monitoring its use. Local staff would be appointed as appropriate to undertake duties of resource centre librarian, registrar/assistant for planning seminars, secretarial, and driver/general handyman. The project would be housed in the British Council for approximately the first two years.

Resource Centre

A lot of money has been invested in the Resource Centre both in stock and automation. There is no doubt that the very existence of a well-stocked Resource Centre with advisers on hand has helped to revolutionise English for Business Purposes (EBP) teaching in Poland. The Know-How Funded Management Centres will soon start to function as part of a network of similar Resource Centres receiving their stock and training for their assistants from central EMAS. Combined Know-How Fund activities will thus help to create regional centres of excellence in all aspects of management training.

Teacher Training and Trainer Training

If teacher training at a tertiary level is a new concept in Poland, the concept of trainer training is even newer. Thus those teachers chosen to be trainers and advisers are currently undergoing teacher training and trainer training. Nearly all teachers except a very few who have recently graduated will have worked at one time for a State Institution. Most will still have a post in the state sector plus one or two part-time jobs in the private sector.

As teachers become better trained and more confident both in the concepts of appropriate methodology and of a market economy, they are starting to operate in a network in which teacher training sessions are run locally. The aim is that such teacher training sessions will continue to run and be funded locally after the project has wound down. The sustainability of such a network post-KHF funding, in both conceptual and financial terms, is something that EMAS is working towards.

Students of Business English

A training programme such as the one referred to above, particularly in a specialised field like English for Business Purposes, runs the risk of creating an endless supply of teachers for whose services there is no demand. It is not to be taken for granted that there are queues of students for Business English. Where, then, will the students come from?

There is obviously a captive audience in State tertiary institutions dealing with economics, finance, management etc where an FL is a requirement. Some Business Schools and Know-How Funded Management Centres are running EBP courses, but so far have not seen the necessity or advantage of linking EBP courses to their core curricula. Some private language schools run general Business English classes, and a few have contracts with companies, particularly in the banking sector.

To stimulate the demand side the project has initiated some "pump-priming" by funding and undertaking language needs consultancies in major companies. The hope is that the companies recognise their specific needs in language training and then hire teachers or approach language schools to provide appropriate courses. EMAS remains the link by advising on the language programme, but schools and teachers benefit both financially and in experience.

Demand Cycle

See Appendix 1.

Differences from standard ODA Project

It is worth noting that this project, whilst conforming to the standard ODA-type project, was set up with some differences. The major difference is that this project was set up without demand from the host government, and without being housed in local premises. There is, however, great demand for our services from the EBP constituency. The project is now searching for premises in an institute working in a similar area with whom it can co-locate. No formal link, therefore, exists with any Polish institute, and no Polish money has as yet been committed to the project. The lack of formal link to any one institute has forced us to consider the ever-thorny question of counter-parting in a different light. We may, for example, have a network of "part-time" counter-parts around Poland.

Unlike many other projects, we also are charged with at least minimal cost recovery, through membership fees to the Resource Centre, charges for our residential courses (25% of direct costs), and charges for in-company teacher training.

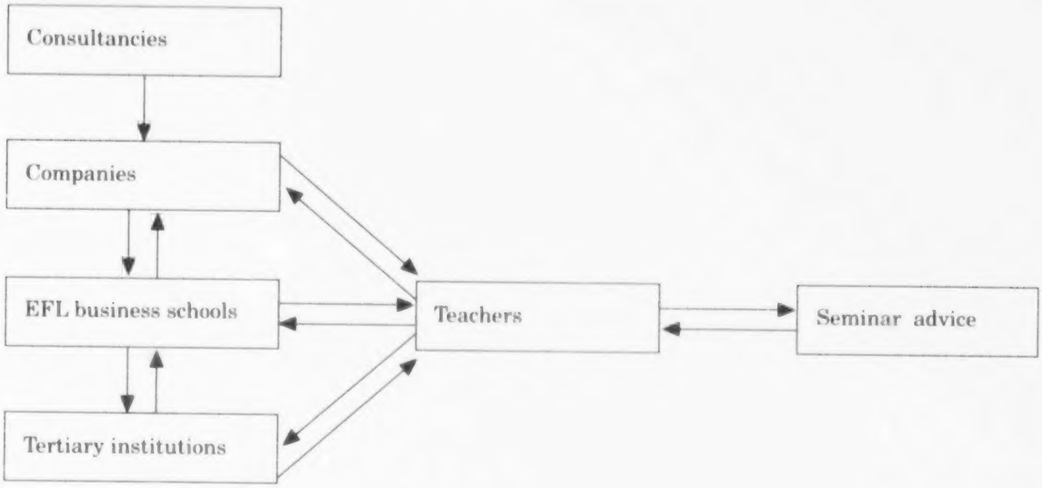
Tasks

Participants were to be asked to discuss the possible means of evaluating a project which encompasses educational, economic and developmental areas. However, a more wide ranging discussion developed, as outlined in the report section.

Edward Richards

Appendix 1

Demand Cycle


Consultancies
Companies
EFL business schools
Tertiary institutions
Teachers
Seminar advice

Poland Case Study - Report of group Discussions

The Poland (EMAS) Case Study gave rise to a wide-ranging discussion. It was, in particular, the catalyst for a number of key issues which had been only implicit in the various discussions that had taken place in the seminar up to that point.

The focus initially was on the meaning and nature of 'wider objective' both generally and within the Polish Project. Two key meanings of 'wider' emerged: one as referring to 'breadth' of effect and the other to 'remoteness' of effect. This latter interpretation gave rise to speculation that while ELT could be seen as a key enabling factor in improving education attainment (business effectiveness etc) and could, if necessary, be shown to do so, it was the case that our profession had not so far demonstrated the link in any substantive way. It was agreed further that the subsequent step of linking ELT through education (business etc) to socio-economic development was not necessarily part of our professional role nor, in general, within our professional competence; (though it was noted that a lay economist's intuitions and views could be seen to be very acceptable, particularly given the 'real' economist's patent uncertainty in demonstrating the more remote links). That said, it was agreed that the ELT profession had the democratic right and indeed responsibility to question any assertion that ELT had no role in effecting improvements in the social and economic order of a society.

Perhaps one of the first steps would be for governments, donors and relevant experts to show precisely what broader factors do contribute to socio-economic development, and how they inter-relate. It might well then be feasible and reasonable for the ELT professional to demonstrate the contribution of ELT to those factors. Thus, returning to our starting point, 'remote' benefits do exist. The movement in Poland towards democracy and a free market represent socio-economic 'remote' benefits, in this sense, and English, at least intuitively, provides a substantial input (no doubt one of many) towards their achievement.

John Burke

China Case Study

The China case study was divided into four main sections. The first, introductory, session attempted to put the ODA contribution to ELT development in China in the larger context of China's development and other donor input. This was followed by a description of two research projects which address some of the issues raised in the first section. The third section looked at two projects which aim to develop English skills for students of other subjects. The final section looked at other possibilities for ELT work that reached beyond the education sector to directly benefit the socio-economic development of China.

Introduction

The first session opened with a very brief history of China since 1949, emphasising the 'open door policy' which began in the late 1970s, and which has allowed China to develop very rapidly during the 1980s and 90s. Human Resource development (HRD) aid from multilateral donors and lenders, and bilateral HRD development aid to China in 1991 amounted to approximately US$ 200m. Of this the British contribution through the ODA was approximately US$ 15m. Most of this funding was spent on technical co-operation and other scholarship schemes, and on science consultancy projects, primarily environmental. About one eighth was spent on ELT development projects.

In the 1992/93 academic year there are 32 projects in 25 institutions in 15 cities in China. These cover the areas of trainer training (2) teacher training (16) syllabus/materials (6) testing (2) ESP Centres (2) research projects (2) and pre-departure projects (2). The fifth Triennial review by the ODA in 1991 identified 'pressure points' in the system and priority 'target groups' to ensure the greatest impact for ELT development. The pressure points, in order of priority are:

- examination reform and development
- research with practical outcomes
- training of trainers and teachers
- teacher support networks
- materials development

The priority groups are:

- English majors
- secondary schools
- professional groups
- non-English majors

The Chinese authorities have identified personnel training and examination development as priority areas.

The first task required participants tp choose one of the pressure points and to look at the appraisal criteria in Roger Iredale's paper: - benefits, costs, sustainability, alternatives. What information would be needed to demonstrate that the 'pressure points' meet the appraisal criteria?

Research Projects

Jenny Thomas described two research projects in China to which she acted as consultant. They both, to some extent, attempt to provide information about the situation for ELT in China, which will be valuable in planning future development. The first project, at Shanghai

International Studies University, is a research and follow-up project, looking at teachers who have attended a middle school teacher training course or Advanced Teacher Training course at the university and are now teaching. The project is well thought-out and therefore likely to provide very useful and valid results. The second project, at Beijing Normal University, was less well focussed, and the research proposal had to be quite drastically revised during the consultancy. The narrower focus enabled the project to achieve more limited objectives within one year.

Discussion followed on the importance of research and, more importantly, on the need for clear specification and appraisal of research proposals before projects begin.

Two Projects

Chris Hampton described two projects in China which begin to address the role of ELT beyond the education sector. He worked on the first for two years and is about to start work on the second project described.

A key university, Tsinghua is probably the most prestigious university of science and technology in China. Its 65 foreign language teachers are therefore working with the cream of Chinese science students. The ODA/SEdC project set out to assess current practice and needs in the Foreign Language Department (FLD), with the overall aim of establishing an ESP model for the teaching of undergraduates in years 1 & 2.

Teacher & student questionnaires, classroom observations, initial and focus reports all contributed to this assessment. However, the project failed to formulate or implement an ESP model. The ODA view the project as central to the work of the FLD, involved in areas such as testing, classroom innovation, materials design and in-service teacher training. In reality, the perceived demands of the College English Test, which all students sit at the end of the fourth semester, exerted a much more powerful influence on these areas. The FLD recognised the value of the project team's contributions, but regarded them essentially as outsiders.

Innovation was made more difficult by the "Chinese context". This term can include practical day-to-day problems (eg preparing materials for large numbers of students) as well as underlying cultural values (eg since Chinese society is position-oriented, new ideas accepted and put into practice by younger teachers can threaten the status of senior band leaders).

Certainly, there were some project successes: teachers began talking about language learning and teaching, and those who were ready to adapt were encouraged to do so. Resources were well-used, and the regular workshops and conferences provided forums for discussion and the exchange of ideas both within Tsinghua and beyond. Materials to exploit and expand the coursebooks were produced, and proficiency tests and oral tests established.

However, it seemed that the project embraced two worlds that barely overlapped. On the one hand, the ODA world focussed on process, realised ideally in a departmental ESP policy, systematic in-service training, and a sustainable methodology project based on ongoing needs analysis and review. On the other hand, the Chinese university world was concerned with a product: student performance on the CET, a praised coursebook, conference papers. Building bridges between these two worlds remained a daunting task.

The second project is at Qingdao University. Qingdao is a small comprehensive university founded in 1985. The ODA/SEdC project, based in the Language Centre is similar to Tsinghua's, in that both are departmental methodology projects. They differ, however, in one important respect: whereas Tsinghua was concerned with improving their general

English course, Qingdao is focussing on English for occupational purposes. The project aim is to develop a communicative ESP course for students of International Relations, Foreign Trade and Tourism. A new coursebook "Communicative English for Chinese Learners" (CECL), is to be introduced in September 1992, supplemented with ESP materials.

In the project's first year, questionnaires were prepared for current students, teachers, graduates and potential employers. From the responses, it is clear that both employers and graduates are dissatisfied with the present language learning and teaching. Employers want employees who are at ease in English in their working environment. However, the degree of dissatisfaction and its sources vary, which suggests there may be no single solution. Other potentially negative factors include CECL's reputation as a "difficult" coursebook to teach, and the Language Centre's teachers' perceived low status within the university. On the positive side there is a general recognition of the project's importance for the students' future job prospects and for the university; regular coordination meetings have been set up, working groups are already preparing ESP supplementary materials under the supervision of the Chinese counterparts, and morale is high.

Other Areas

Three other possible areas where there are no current projects, but where projects would meet the criteria defined by the Triennial review, as well as contributing more directly to the socio-economic development of China, were briefly discussed.

The first was the development of the English proficiency of staff of the International department of the Agricultural Bank of China, a bank with over 50,000 branches and over 500,000 employees. Among the bank's activities is the disbursement of World Bank and UNDP funds to the rural sector. The question was raised of whether ELT aid to such an organisation was justifiable, given the clear developmental role of the bank in poverty alleviation.

The second was the Science consultancies which generally address large-scale environmental and public services issues, using ODA funded British consultants. There is currently no provision for ELT in the consultancies, but training programmes are constrained by lack of English. There is a perceived need for a 'professional interface' through English. ELT provision in this area would have a direct effect on environmental improvement.

ODA funded projects in management and administration are being proposed for a number of institutions in China. This will provide another opportunity for ELT to contribute to the development of these skills in China, as English is the language of management, and the key to the world of trade and business.

Conclusion

In conclusion it was suggested that by starting from the current need for English, it would be possible, through focussed and structured research, to provide both service English immediately for developmental priorities, such as those mentioned above, and also development of the educational infrastructure which would in the longer term meet the needs for English for socio-economic development.

Gordon Slaven

China Case Study - Report of Group Discussions

Introduction

The China Case Study was substantial presentation covering in some detail the broader aid context, priorities in aid, and the institutionally-focused ELT-related projects currently underway in China, including various research projects and two key projects in universities, one in a prestigious Science university, the other in a special Economic Zone university (designated a 'third-class' university). The observations and responses to the Case Study were wide-ranging, numerous and varied, and raised a number of relevant issues relating to the socio-economic nature and role of ELT projects both in China and generally.

Specific Issues in ELT Projects

The various ELT projects in China are widely and perhaps thinly spread, both nationally and in nature and purpose. This raises the question of the importance of critical mass to effectiveness. There was some ambivalence as to what extent generalisation of the projects, replication and cascading could happen, or whether they were even entirely viable concepts, (though it was noted that some effective 'networking' had developed within one of the research projects).

The particular ELT-related research and university projects described gave rise variously to many general and particular issues which have bearing on the socio-economic status of ELT-focused aid. Included amongst these issues were the following:

- Examinations and examination systems have a very marked effect on curriculum and curriculum change. Appropriate developments can be effectively halted or diverted (as well as supported) within an examination manipulative culture. Project aims can very easily be de-railed and unpredictable outcomes emerge.

- There are clearly different academic, social, and cultural perceptions as to what study, learning and research should be concerned with, and as socio-economic change is, inevitably, cultural change, there may well be a strong case for a broadly-based cultural/academic audit as part of the analysis of needs, and of the design, preparation and implementation of any research or university ELT project.

- In addition to the cultural factors, there are institutional and personal agenda which project status and inputs give rise to. It is equally important that these should be anticipated and considered.

- In ESP contexts, (and specifically in relation to the research projects and the project in the special Economic Zone university), the need for relevant research into the English language requirements both in other disciplines in the university and in the (eventual) workplace was quite marked, (particular given the general understanding that English may not be used at work to any great extent, and the reality that it is in the workplace that the cross-cutting issues come into focus). Further research undertaken needs to look at a wide range of indicators (good will, personal agenda, the effect on a broad range of people, and so on), and should extend well beyond the time limits of the project. Also addressed should be the issue of the development of generalizable research instruments, and, indeed, the need to train good researchers able effectively to design and apply such instruments.

Understanding the English language needs of the real world in China is crucial and those needs will differ from situation to situation, giving rise to the need for very specific context-sensitive analyses. In general, it would seem likely that ESP in China is relatively easy to justify in practical, economic terms, but English for general educational development less so. That said, it remains the case that English is wanted across society; learners, parents, academics, employers all attribute high status to it as a source of socio-economic development. In this way they represent real market forces, and provide socio-economic justification.

John Burke

India Case Study

Dunford 1991 and the discussions of Dunford 92 so far have suggested four basic routes by which ELT might be linked to the achievement of macro-developmental objectives, any combination of which might figure in project design and appraisal.

1. Treat ELT as a subset of Education (cf. Iredale). If you can measure what ELT contributes to Education then you can connect it through Education to wider developmental objectives.
2. Show what ELT contributes to non-educational projects and hence "ride" on their justification/measures to the wider developmental objectives.
3. Quantify personal rates of return i.e. the number of individuals measurably benefitting from ELT inputs.
4. Make a more direct link between ELT and the achievement of wider developmental objectives.

Most discussion in this Dunford centred on 1 to 3. This final case study was an attempt to take ELT away from the evaluation of narrow professional impact to a consideration of impact on societies as a whole, taking into account both the economic and socio-cultural dimensions. Two tasks were undertaken, first an assessment of a possible tool for identifying impact at the "soft" socio/cultural end of the spectrum to complement the "hard" economic data: and second, a consideration of a proposed pilot project in West Bengal to suggest ways in which the design might incorporate relevant base line data collection particularly in the so-called "soft" areas.

The English language is inextricably embedded in the social, economic and political environment of India but it is not universally used or welcomed. It is nevertheless the main language of business, education (tertiary), the professions, government and administration, and functions as the national link language and the language of social and inter-regional mobility. The extent to which it penetrates down from the emerging middle class (circa 200 million) is not clearly known. It is, however, widely perceived as the key to advancement even in the poorer sections of society. In such a situation, the impact of ELT improvements ought to be observable and hence measurable at the social level.

There is considerable agreement between the Government of India (GOI) and ODA on the main development objectives: poverty alleviation, health and economic growth. In a country where the "poor" number 400 million it is not surprising therefore that much of the aid programme is devoted to raising basic standards of education and health service provision and this accords well with received wisdom on the productivity benefits derived from investment in primary education in preference to secondary or tertiary. The Andhra Pradesh Primary Education Project is the largest ODA education project in the world and any successor will almost certainly be in the field of basic education. ELT which is mainly introduced at the secondary level in India has consequently comparatively low priority now with ODA although there has been very substantial investment in the past. This clashes with the Indian perception that English is intimately linked with development and economic advancement and suggests a need for a more precise description of that linkage.

The 1992 UNDP report on Human Development stresses the importance of reducing inequalities as a precondition for sustainable development and of the need to look at development in terms of strengthening societies as a whole rather than individual members of that society. It lists as minimum requirements for sustainable development the elimination of poverty; reduction in population growth; more equitable trained people; decentralised, participatory government; equitable liberal trading systems; and environmental awareness. This implies that "hard" indicators such as GDP, income levels etc need to be balanced by "soft" indicators such as access to health care, justice, democratic structures, the relative position of women and other underprivileged groups.

It would seem useful, therefore, to be able to describe in a reasonably systematic way the major groups in any society and to identify significant areas of inequality between those groups if one is to predict changes resulting from educational or ELT inputs. A model or "grid" for India might look like Appendix 1 with Education/ELT mediating between group and opportunity.

Participants were invited to consider its practicality both generally and specifically in the Indian context.

Feedback was mainly positive in that it was felt to offer a useful tool for ordering a very diverse mass of material. There was concern that impact assessment in these areas took project designers and managers outside their normal range of professional competencies. It also takes them outside the normal time range of a project, which might therefore require the identification of intermediate indicators from which one could predict the desired outcomes.

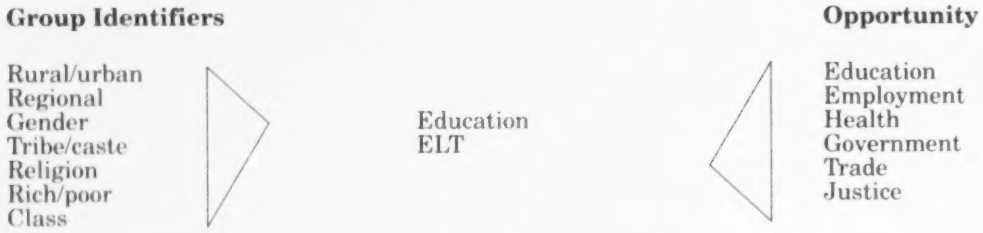
The second group task looked at an outline for a proposed pilot project with the West Bengal Board of Secondary Education in which it was intended to include a research component to generate data for impact assessment. Lack of time prevented any round-up discussion but written comments provided a useful range of proposals.

Suggestions for the design of the research stressed the importance of base-line studies, the need for a control group of schools and provision for tracer studies on completion of the project. Questions to be addressed in a base line study would include a comparison of what happens to school leavers from schools considered to be successful in ELT with the less successful schools and the influence of social factors; the need for a profile of language preference and use in the region and the relative proficiencies in English of different groups; a survey of employer attitudes; group profiles of individual schools; and data on teacher/pupil competencies. Specific indicators arising from these and for which data is needed are: access to higher education; examination results; influence of ELT improvements on results across the curriculum; employment statistics and the need to relate these to fluctuations in the economic situation; proportion of girls and other minority groups achieving success; and effects on the status of teachers and teacher perceptions and attitudes.

As a result of the case study it has become clear that, in India at least, further research is needed on the design of base line studies which will seek to identify areas of impact assessment which are both significant in terms of wider developmental objectives and feasible in terms of the physical constraints of the social and professional environment of the project. It also seems desirable to broaden the base of such a study to include the impact of improvements in general educational standards of which ELT will be a component. A proposal for a research project to design a replicable model for base-line studies for education projects in India is currently under consideration and it is hoped to implement it within the next year.

Neil Gilroy-Scott

Appendix 1


Group Identifiers
Rural/urban
Regional
Gender
Tribe/caste
Religion
Rich/poor
Class
Education
ELT
Opportunity
Education
Employment
Health
Government
Trade
Justice

India Case Study - Report of Group Discussions

India as a whole would be discussed as a relevant case rather than any given project in India.

Attention was drawn to the "Human Development" aspects of aid (cf UNDP Human Development Report eg 1992), which are all embracing:

- production processes
- institutional change
- personal well being
- economic growth/distribution
- basic needs
- human aspirations and distress.

People always come first.

The minimum requirements for sustainable Human Development(HD) in these terms are:

- eliminate poverty
- reduce population growth
- distribute resources more equitably
- promote health, education, training
- decentralise government
- improve trading systems
- ecosystems and environment

The large interlinked ODA projects in India (which are mainly non-ELT) aim to focus on these broader aspects, especially on reducing inequalities and disparities between individuals and groups. India is particularly suitable because measures of inequality and deprivation are multiple and marked.

An "inequality grid" was proposed (some thought a filter or bridge, or even optic fibre or biological enzyme-based metaphor was better). This is a set of check-lists to assist the analysis of projects in terms of HD (see Grid A, Appendix 2):

List 1 enables us to identify the target groups in terms of"group identifiers".

List 2, which several wanted to break down into 2a and 2b, enables us to specify the basic requirements in terms of HD that are ultimately being addressed through aid (see Appendix 2)

training -> employment -> income (subsistence)

awareness -> healthcare -> health
etc

There was some debate as to whether, in this context, we should think in terms of ELT pure and simple or of ELT as part of access training (along with mother tongue communication skills, numeracy, literacy etc.)

The grid idea was generally thought to be useful as a means of "soft analysis", providing that criteria and procedures for "hard analysis" are available. However, there was a need to build and cost in such measures and evaluation steps at the design stage (as discussed with the West Bengal training project).

Points raised in discussion:

a. Difficulty of working back up the "aid pyramid" from the most specific level (eg teacher ed) to wider HD objectives and economic measures.

b. Post-hoc analysis is very hard unless focus/aims are built in ab initio.

c. It was suggested by the rapporteur that ELT-specific grids could be extrapolated from the more general HD grid (see Appendix 2).

Richard Rossner

Appendix 2

Grid A Macro

Group Identifiers	**Aid Intervention**	**HD Focus**
Rural/urban	(Enabling)	Health
Regional	ELT	Education
Gender	Language Skills	Income
Tribe/Caste	(etc)	Justice
Religion	Health education	Political
Language		Involvement
Socio-Economic		

Grid B Micro (ELT)

Target Group	**Intervention**	**Aims**
Teacher trainers	Syllabus materials	Methodology: -awareness abilities/skills
Teachers in service	Courses training	applied linguistic research language training
Intending teachers		
Tertiary students	UK training	communication skills
Ministry of Education	Consultancy	etc
etc	etc	etc

Key Issues

33 Commandments:

We must/thou shalt

1. Build accountability and levels of accountability into project design etc.
2. Prove the efficiency of Project Management
3. Provide evidence and justification wherever possible
4. Link justifications (piggy backing)
5. Find out what the donor objectives are (tactical, strategic, political)
6. Take into account ODA's 8 aid priorities
7. Follow ODA appraisal criteria
8. Beware current orthodoxies
9. Relate educational aims to national policies
10. Emphasise the significance of English as a lingua franca
11. Develop a wider perception for the need of English
12. Recognize the strategic value of English Language Teaching (eg national unity; access to English for world education
13. Show how ELT is integral to individual as well as national identity
14. Acknowledge that ELT is not only a part of Education
15. Look into the possibility of correlating cost with education
16. Define what we cost
17. Take into account the different levels of cost-effectiveness (individual, institutional, industrial and national)
18. Invest for greatest returns (especially basic education)
19. Question the criteria used for costing (economics is not an exact science)
20. Be aware of the weakness of cost-benefit analysis, even though it is used as an instrument of justification
21. Remember that benefits are not only measurable in financial terms
22. Calculate the benefits of process projects
23. Underline the role of soft (qualitative) indicators as well as hard (quantitative) indicators
24. Accept that short-term goals are not always compatible with macro-benefits
25. Take account of unpredictable outcomes (spinoffs)
26. Account for the negative effects of ELT
27. Remember that short term results give further choices
28. Not only measure in numbers but look for the means to obtain objectives
29. Remember that research and evaluation have costs too
30. Stress the importance of research for capacity building
31. Utilize resources appropriately. There is a need for research and baseline studies
32. Remember that baseline studies make economic sense
33. Bemoan a lack of access to evaluation literature of donors.

Simon Ingram Hill

Towards a synthesis of outcomes

Following the restatement of keynote issues and reports on case study outcomes, a forty-minute plenary participant-led discussion, chaired by Andy Thomas, attempted to capture some of the major general issues emerging from the seminar as a lead into the afternoon session on 'the way forward'.

The following nine issues emerged:

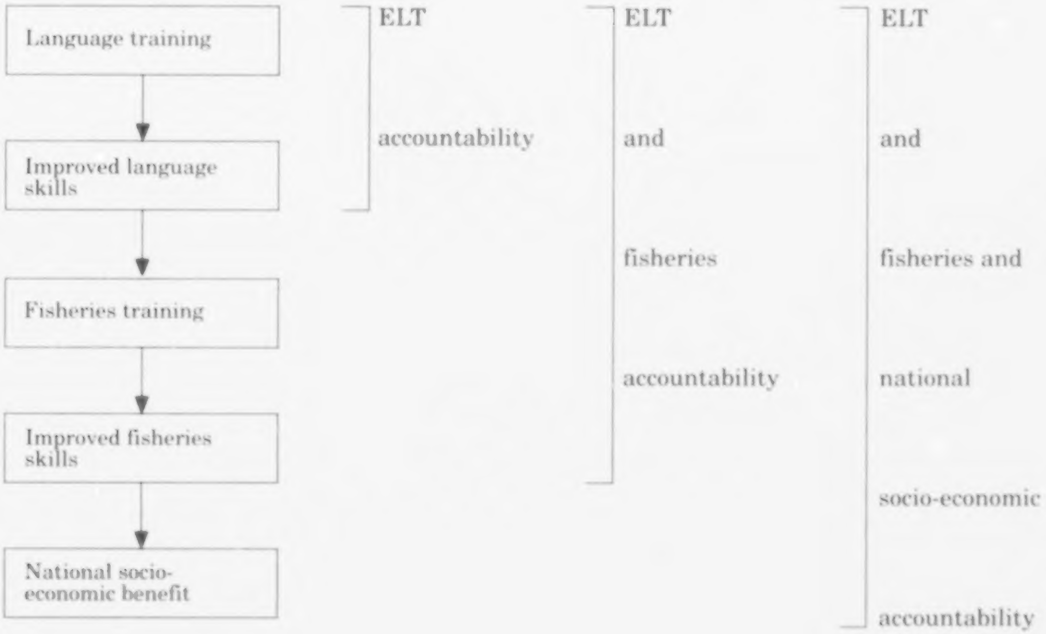
1. The ELT profession should define its 'scope of accountability' to extend beyond immediate to wider objectives to which it contributes. For example, a justification/evaluation of a language-oriented teacher-training project could measure not only teacher improvement but also consequent learner preparation for higher education or employment , as a result of improved teaching across the curriculum.

Similarly, a justification/evaluation of a language training project linked to a fisheries training project could measure not only the improvement in language skills of the trainees but also their consequent improvement in the area of fisheries, the latter in collaboration with fisheries experts.

The extent to which these 'intermediate' wider objectives contribute to 'remote' or longer term national aid objectives of socio-economic development cannot be measured by ELT professionals alone, or even ELT professionals in collaboration with other (eg fisheries) professionals, without the help of macro socio-economists, who are ultimately responsible for such justification.

ELT professionals can, however, identify probable national socio-economic benefits in logical rather than strictly quantitative terms for the quantitative consideration of macro socio-economists.

A 'cumulative' accountability model, using fisheries as an example, may be diagrammatically represented as follows:


Language training
Improved language skills
Fisheries training
Improved fisheries skills
National socio-economic benefit
ELT accountability
ELT and fisheries accountability
ELT and fisheries and national socio-economic accountability

If, as is often the case, prior socio-economic justification exists for investment in, for example, education or fisheries, then the task of the ELT profession becomes justification of investment in ELT in terms of the contribution it makes to improvement in these sectors. (A complementary alternative to this indirect national benefit model, specified in terms of direct individual or group benefit, is proposed in 9. below).

2. An essential measure of the value of investment in ELT is that of the cost-effectiveness of such investment.

3. In the light of 1. above, it is clear that the ELT profession needs to establish working links with others, both inside and outside education.

4. In establishing such links and adopting an interdisciplinary approach, the ELT profession must establish itself as a credible participant in discussions on development by demonstrating an awareness of all levels of development.

5. Such credibility may be established if the ELT profession can clearly define its place and role within the world of information and knowledge.

6. When engaging in cost-benefit analysis, the costs and benefits to UK institutions are a significant part of the equation.

7. Given that there are both 'soft' (qualitiative) and 'hard' (quantitative) benefits to be derived from investment in ELT, we should look at the relationship between soft and hard indicators.

8. We should not forget that English is the language of international communication, which is itself a significant justification for investment in ELT.

9. In terms of aid priorities, given this international, and often national, status of English, an alternative, more direct measure of the socio-economic impact of ELT, at the individual or group level, than that proposed in 1. above, at the national level, would be that of the extent to which equal opportunities that would otherwise be denied are opened up to individuals or groups by access to English.

Andy Thomas

End of Seminar Questionnaire

Please help us to evaluate the 1992 Dunford Seminar by completing this questionnaire. It will be collected on Friday evening, and should be completed on a day-to-day basis.

Key

Not relevant 0 1 2 3 Relevant (to professional interests)	Not satisfied 0 1 2 3 Satisfied (with quality and presentation)

Monday 27 July - morning

Keynote Addresses

Relevance		Satisfaction
0 1 2 3	Dr Roger Bowers, Director ELD British Council	0 1 2 3
0 1 2 3	Prof John Turner, Pro-Vice Chancellor Manchester University	0 1 2 3
0 1 2 3	Prof Alasdair MacBean, Dept of Economics Lancaster University	0 1 2 3
0 1 2 3	Dr Roger Iredale, Chief Education Adviser ODA	0 1 2 3

Comments:

Monday 27 July - afternoon

Relevance		Satisfaction
0 1 2 3	Namibia Case Study Dick Chamberlain, ELTO Namibia	0 1 2 3

Comments:

Tuesday 28 July - morning

Relevance		Satisfaction
0 1 2 3	Kenya Case Study Gill Westaway, British Council Kenya and Peter Bint, ELTO Kenya	0 1 2 3

Comments:

Tuesday 28 July - afternoon

Relevance		Satisfaction
0 1 2 3	Zimbabwe Case Study Stuart Greenhalgh, ELTO Zimbabwe	0 1 2 3

Comments:

Wednesday 29 July - morning

Relevance		Satisfaction
0 1 2 3	Hungary Case Study Joy Griffiths, Eötvös Loránd University Hungary	0 1 2 3

Comments:

Relevance		Satisfaction
0 1 2 3	Poland Case Study Eddie Richards, EMAS Poland	0 1 2 3

Comments:

Thursday 30 July - morning

Relevance		Satisfaction
0 1 2 3	China Case Study Gordon Slaven, British Council China	0 1 2 3

Comments:

Thursday 30 July - afternoon

Relevance		Satisfaction
0 1 2 3	India Case Study Neil Gilroy-Scott British Council India	0 1 2 3

Comments:

Friday 31 July - morning

Relevance		Satisfaction
0 1 2 3	"Pulling together" (Restatement of aims, case study summaries, participant-led discussion)	0 1 2 3

Comments:

Friday 31 July - afternoon

Relevance		Satisfaction
0 1 2 3	"The Way Forward"	0 1 2 3

Comments:

General (Seminar)

1. Are there any other issues/topics that you feel should have been included in the seminar?
2. Would you like to suggest any improvements for next year's seminar?
3. Was the seminar: (please tick)
    a. Too short? If so, what would you consider to be the optimum length?
    b. About right.
    c. Too long? If so, what would you consider to be the optimum length?
4. What do you feel are the key issues arising from this year's seminar that merit further consideration at the 1993 seminar?
5. What benefits do you feel that you have obtained from the seminar?

Seminar Objectives

Below are the objectives for Dunford 1992. Please indicate how far you would consider each objective to have been met:

(Not at all 0 1 2 3 Completely)

- To produce a clear analysis of the cross-cutting nature of communication skills as an element in development; 0 1 2 3 (please circle)
- To analyze the need to finance targeted and coherent projects as an integral part of development aid programmes; 0 1 2 3
- To analyze the range of justifications for investment in the development of communication skills; 0 1 2 3
- To identify valid and practical measures for evaluating the benefits of aid in this field. 0 1 2 3

General

Not satisfied 0 1 2 3 Very satisfied (please circle)

1. Was the accommodation to your satisfaction?

0 1 2 3

Comments:

2. Was the catering to your satisfaction?

0 1 2 3

Comments:

3. How would you rate the organization of the seminar?

Poor 0 1 2 3 Very good

Comments:

Overall Satisfaction

How would you rate your overall satisfaction with the seminar?

Not Satisfied 0 1 2 3 Very Satisfied

Other Comments:

Thank you for completing this questionnaire

Keynote Speakers

Dr Roger Bowers
Director, ELD
British Council
Medlock Street
Manchester M15 4PR

Dr Roger Iredale
Chief Education Adviser
ODA
94, Victoria Street
London SW1E 5JL

Professor Alasdair MacBean
Emeritus Professor
Department of Economics
The Management School
University of Lancaster
Lancaster LA1 4YX

Professor John Turner
Pro-Vice Chancellor
University of Manchester
Oxford Road
Manchester M13 9PL

Case Study Leaders

China
Mr Gordon Slaven
Projects Advisory Unit
ELD, British Council
Medlock Street
Manchester M15 4PR

Hungary
Ms Joy Griffiths
CETT
Eötvös Loránd University
Budapest, Ajtosi Durer Sor
19-21
H-1142 Budapest
Hungary

India
Dr Neil Gilroy-Scott
British High Commission
British Council Division
AIFACS Building
Rafi Marg
New Delhi 110 001
India

Kenya
Ms Gill Westaway
A/Dir (English Language)
British Council
PO Box 40751, ICEA
Building
Kenyatta Avenue
Nairobi
Kenya

Mr Peter Bint
ELTO, COMSKIP Project
As Above

Namibia
Mr Dick Chamberlain
Ministry of Education
Project
c/o British Council
PO Box 24224
Windhoek 9000
Namibia

Poland
Mr Eddie Richards
EMAS
Al. Jerozolimskie 59
00-697 Warsawa
Poland

Zimbabwe
Mr Stuart Greenhalgh
University of Zimbabwe
Project
c/o British Council
23 Jason Moyo Avenue
PO Box 664
Harare
Zimbabwe

Seminar Participants

Mr Clive Adderley
CFBT
Quality House
Gyosei Campus
London Road
Reading
Berkshire RG1 5AQ

Ms Valerie Ainscough
L'Institut National de
Recherche
c/o British Council
BP 14584
Brazzaville
The Congo

Dr Charles Alderson
LAMEL
University of Lancaster
Lancaster LA1 4YW

Mr Ewen Arnold
IELE
University of Lancaster
Lancaster LA1 4YW

Ms Pauline Barr
Thames Valley University
Grove House
1 The Grove
Ealing
London W5 5DX

Mr Paul Barry
Cradle Project
c/o British Council ETRC
Costanera 504 entra Las
Monjas y Ebanos
PO Box 6547 Guayaquil
Ecuador

Mr Michael Beaumont
CELSE
University of Manchester
Oxford Road
Manchester M13 9PL

Mr Terence Bray
IELE
University of Lancaster
Lancaster LA1 4YW

Mr John Burke
International Education
Centre
College of St Mark & St
John
Derriford Road
Plymouth PL6 8BH

Ms Julie Caveney
Projects Advisory Unit,
ELD, British Council
Medlock Street
Manchester M15 4PR

Mr Michael Francis
ODA
94, Victoria Street
London SW1E 5JL

Mr Kevin Germaine
St Mary's College
Waldegrave Road
Twickenham TW1 4SX

Mr Christopher Hampton
EFL Lecturer
c/o British Council
4th Floor, Landmark
Building
8 North Dongsanhuan Road
Chaoyang District
Beijing 10026
China

Ms Lesley Hayman
Overseas Support Unit
British Council
Medlock Street
Manchester M15 4PR

Ms Thelma Henderson
CELT
University of Warwick
Coventry CV4 7AL

Mr John Hilton
Assistant Director ELD
British Council
Medlock Street
Manchester M15 4PR

Mr Anthony Hopwood
Bell Educational Trust
Hillscross
Red Cross Lane
Cambridge CB2 2QX

Mr James Hutton
IALS
University of Edinburgh
21 Hill Place
Edinburgh EH8 9DP

Ms Ros Hurst
TESOL Section
WSIHE, The Dome
Upper Bognor Road
Bognor Regis
West Sussex PO21 IHR

Mr Simon Ingram Hill
Projects Advisory Unit
British Council
Medlock Street
Manchester M15 4PR

Ms Hilary Jenkins
Overseas Support Unit
British Council
Medlock Street
Manchester M15 4PR

Mr Richard Kiely
Thames Valley University
Grove House
1 The Grove
Ealing
London W5 5DX

Mr Peter Kurgatt
c/o British Council
TCTD MS 2nd (Lorna
Richards)
Medlock Street
Manchester M15 4PR

Mr James Morrison
SCEO
Moray House Institute of
Education
Holyrood Campus
Holyrood Road
Edinburgh EH8 8AQ

Mr Dermot Murphy
Thames Valley University
Grove House
1 The Grove
Ealing
London W5 5DX

Mr Michael Potter
Assistant Director ELD
British Council
Medlock Street
Manchester M15 4PR

Mr Richard Rossner
Bell Educational Trust
Hillscross
Red Cross Lane
Cambridge CB2 2QX

Mr David Taylor
Overseas Education Unit
School of Education
The University
Leeds LS2 9JT

Dr Andrew Thomas
Projects Advisory Unit
British Council
Medlock Street
Manchester M15 4PR

Dr Jenny Thomas
LAMAL
University of Lancaster
Lancaster LA1 4AW

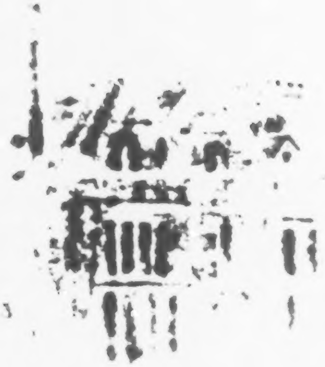
Dr Carew Treffgarne
ODA
94, Victoria Street
London SW1E 5JL

Ms Dianne Wall
IELE
University of Lancaster
Lancaster LA1 4AW

Ms Barbara Webb
IOL Project
c/o British Council
Travessa da Catembe 21/
Avenida dos Martires de
Inhaminga 142
PO Box 4178
Maputo
Mozambique

Mr Richard West
CELSE
University of Manchester
Oxford Road
Manchester M13 9PL

Mr Edward G Woods
IELE
University of Lancaster
Lancaster LA1 4AW



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